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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XXV.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1855.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and clouders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the crystall of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—Milton.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Memorials of Indian Government; being a selection from the papers of Henry St. George Tucker*—[*Land-Revenue.*]

THE immense interest centering in the land-revenue, makes the management of landed property, whether belonging to individuals or Government, a question of the highest consideration. Nothing even indirectly bearing on it, should be hastily decided on, and all improvements on it should be carefully sifted and weighed, that all chances of bringing them to maturity may be fairly developed. From what tax are the funds mainly derived wherewith the heavy national expenses are met, but the land-revenue? The two great monopolies certainly return large sums, but how trifling, considering the need of the country. The import and export duties would be but a drop for that purpose, and the excise is scarcely worth mentioning. It is the tax on land, the only tax we may almost say paid in India, that supports the Government; and it is to the bettering of it that Government efforts should be directed. We do not mean *bettering* in the sense only of a present increase in the income, but also bettering the position of the ryot: and for the purpose of developing the capabilities of this fertile country—forcing on the proprietors, as far as legal means and example may go, a better principle of land management, and especially improving the present system of the management of "khas mehals," by means of which, we believe, that a great impetus may be given to that end. Such then, and so great, is the importance of the subject which is now to occupy our attention.

Khas management, the Court of Directors, and after them, the Board of Revenue, have admitted to be "the most acceptable to the people," and most successful in results, when the European officer in charge has been a thoroughly efficient one; otherwise, that is, when the officer has been lax, the results have been totally different. Now the farm system has extended all over Bengal, and khas management, as a matter of choice, has become extinct; from which we must conclude that an efficient European officer was not to be found in all Bengal;

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otherwise we cannot imagine that Government would have given up that which was confessedly the most successful and most acceptable to the ryots.

We know that this conclusion would be erroneous. There have been many Collectors that have been all that was required, energetic, efficient, devoted and patient, and yet it is to be inferred that they too failed in this strangely arduous task of carrying out all that was good. We are staggered, and begin to think it could not have been the officers in charge, that were to blame, there must have been something radically wrong in the system; that either they had not at their disposal, means good and efficient to carry it out, and fully bring into play its advantages, or they had so much to do besides, that they could not devote sufficient time and energy to this particular purpose. And these we are quite inclined to regard as the real cause of the failure of the system.

We recollect a gentleman of the Civil Service, once writing to a subordinate, on the latter's wishing to replace a young man, whose only qualification was, that he could speak indifferent English, by an old and tried hand in their department, to the effect, that there was no necessity for the exchange, that every thing was dependent on the head of the office, who was like the mainspring of a watch. True, was the reply, the head of an office ought to be the mainspring, and as long as all the works are good and in order, he is responsible for the time that is kept, but if a cog-wheel break down, or become worthless, how then? The mainspring is surely not responsible or answerable. This, we believe, has been the incubus that has oppressed many Government officers; they have been expected to keep the work of their office in order, however worthless or inferior their subordinates, or however incapable, from circumstances, to exercise a strict supervision. Thus the Collectors were unable to carry out the designs of Government, owing to the multiplicity of the duties on their hands, and were obliged to depend entirely on their tussildars, and they being untrustworthy, this great benefit among many others was lost to the people.

When the Supreme Court was first instituted in India, the judges stretched their powers so far, that they declared all who paid revenue to Government were Government servants. On this plea they carried their jurisdiction so far and to such an extent, that they caused immense mischief. No one now will deny this, and that the principle, as applied by them, became, as it might have been expected to become, the instrument of intolerable oppression. Yet for all that, there was some plausi-

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bility in their notion: from the whole bias of the Governmental constitution, the Bengali ryot may be said to be the servant of the ruler. He is at any rate a "retainer" in the proper sense of the word, and the zemindars are upholders in trust. While they act in accordance with this trust, they are independent, if they break it, they are, as they ought in right and reason to be, relieved.*

If this may be said of independent zemindars, how much more applicable is it to farmers of Government estates; and this form of land revenue, and the evils attendant on it, we will proceed to expose, pointing out at the same time what we consider would be the most advantageous way to both landlord and tenant to manage them.

Both the Home Government, and their officials here, have admitted that khas management might be the best system of land settlement; but from causes it has never been successful; there is another objection to it, it has never in Bengal been found profitable, that is, of all forms of collecting revenue, this has been the most expensive and troublesome. Those who have studied the subject, have no hesitation in asserting that this highly beneficial measure has failed through the chicanery of the junior agents entrusted with its details; in this opinion we heartily coincide, and how this great obstacle may now be avoided, it is our purpose to show.

The system of farming khas mehal is one entirely *sui generis*. It is certainly not zemindari. It has something of the monzawarri, inasmuch as that the principal land-holder in the vicinity is the farmer, or khas malik; and lastly, it is in a measure ryotwarri, as in all mehals a rate of rent is fixed, beyond which the farmer ought not to demand from the cultivator. It may

* Under the late Mogul rule, we know that the word *zemindar* expressed a meaning entirely synonymous to our word *collector*. It was only in the year 1793 that their characters of collectors was changed into that of *proprietors*. The change, writers say, has been beneficial, but we are in the belief that Lord Cornwallis had scarcely obtained a fair knowledge of the native character and customs, and was much biassed by the experience he had of the modified Feudal Tenure of Great Britain, to which he assimilated this as closely as the natures of totally different hereditary constitutions would admit of. If the change has been for the better, is still a moot question. Looking at the slothful, yet grasping disposition of the native landed gentry introduced by it, their utter indifference to all advancement, and their perfect carelessness of all interest entrusted to them, but self; no one can conceive the substitution of them for an enlightened and benevolent Government can be for the better. But if they will cast aside their indolence and join the ranks of a civilized policy, which enjoins forbearance and liberality as the standard of true self-interest, none will deny that the change was the most perfect and beneficial that this country has ever experienced. A landed gentry like that of our own England are the great bulwarks of national freedom. The change, however, is yet too young for the question of good or evil to be decided, 1893 must answer it—in the mean time, it must be admitted, that the scheme was good, and, taking into consideration the ignorance of the local authorities, the steps taken to carry it out the best that could have been adopted.

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however be regarded as a branch of the zemindari; and the terms are as follow:—The estate, containing one, two, or three kismuts, is measured, and since the introduction of the new style of measuring by survey, it is correctly mapped; the boundaries and extent of each ryot's holding are clearly defined, and the chittas state what sort of land each holds, first-rate, second-rate, or third-rate; what area is covered by tanks and ditches; and also cow-paths, for the purpose of deducting the same from the assessable lands; new jungle lands and those liable to inundation from *tides*, are also exempt from assessment. The amount of each class of land having been ascertained, the rate of assessment in the neighbouring zemindari is found, and a *jummabundee* or full amount of revenue obtainable from the estate fixed; from this total a deduction, at the rate generally of 15 per *cent.*, is made for expenses of collection; from that remaining, again, 15 per cent. is allowed for a mysterious purpose, called *malikana;* after these deductions, the neighbouring proprietor, generally the one who has land surrounding the khas mehals, signs the *dhoul*, and the estate, including man, beast, and land, is made over to him, bound hand and foot, and from circumstances entirely at his mercy. He becomes to all intents and purposes the proprietary zemindar, with this drawback, that he is liable to a renewal of the lease after the twenty years, or whatever number of years may have fixed upon, expire.—Therefore, says the farmer to himself, I don't see the use of laying out money on the property, for the more I improve the land, the more I shall have to pay at the next settlement, and that field in the south seems a nice bit of land, I must smuggle that into my kurija talook: moreover, adds he, calling to his gomastah, the land I see has been assessed at Rs. 6, 5 and 4, go and tell the ryots I will be content with Rs. 8, 7 and 5, and let them bless their fates that they have such a moderate *moneeb.* This may be supposed to be written jestingly; but, alas! we mean it in sober seriousness, and that all this and more, occurs in every khas mehal. We call upon any intelligent Deputy Collector to give his testimony, utterly fearless but that he will support what we have here advanced. What interest in fact has the farmer in improving the land? It will only, he believes, tend to encrease his jumma hereafter; besides, if he improves any land at all, he will improve his own, and if he can do that at the expense of the khas lands, depend upon it, he will. But the farm-lands? It is out of the question.

On one estate that a Deputy Collector had the settlement of, there was a tank fast going to decay, though the river, and

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that was brackish, was two miles off, and the only supply of water was obtained by means of a wet ditch, which filled during the spring tides at full and new moon; the cost of re-digging and cleaning out this tank was estimated at about Company's Rupees sixty. The farmer was asked, why he did not do it: his reply was characteristic of the landed gentry. It was—"I can't afford it, the settlement is a very hard one, and it is all I can do to meet my liabilities: the water in the nullah (it was nothing but a ditch) is quite good enough." In that case, observed the Deputy Collector, as I consider the lands under-assessed, and intend raising the jumma, you will of course resign, so I may as well look out for another farmer. The man was alarmed enough, and had the Deputy Collector acted up to his threat of settling the estate with another, he would have expended not only sixty Rupees, but quadruple that amount to get it back. This malik did not reside permanently on the estate, or near it, having become proprietor by the purchase of the original farmer's right and interests, and only visited the property to collect his dues. The ryots were then asked, why they did not club together and repair the tank. They plausibly enough replied, what have we got to do with the estate, or where are we to find the money? Another instance, in another estate:—A fine old road was found closed with jungle: the proprietor, when asked why he did not keep it open and free, answered,—what use? the people can come by the fields. Again, at an estate visited by the same officer, he found a tank choked with weeds and filled up with earth, so that, except during the rains, it contained no water. This had been dug by an old howladar, who had fallen into difficulties. On asking why the farmer did not, conjointly with others, repair it, instead of spending all the baja jumma on himself, the people, as was anticipated, smiled at the querist's assumed simplicity. These and numerous other instances that could be adduced, go to prove, that however profitable in the way of present money-returns the farming system may be, it certainly fails in the more extended view that looks for future profit on a little present expenditure, and this we may assume is caused as much by uncertain tenure and liability, as by the inmate *laisser aller* spirit of the native zemindar. *Quid sit futurum cras fuge quærere* is the moral by which, alas, too many are actuated. This is one reason for putting a stop by all fair means to farming.

Again, we may be under the impression, that averse as he is to or careless of improvement, the farmer luckily cannot rack-rent his ryots, he himself produces from among *them*

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the witnesses to state how much is the rent of land, in his and the neighbouring estates: that rate of rent is put down in the dhoul, which he signs and agrees to be guided by, so that if he will not better the tenants, he cannot injure them. There never was a purer error extant. John Doe and Richard Roe, are not, or *were* not, more glaring, open and acknowledged fictions in their generation, than the above bond. The khas ryot knows that he must pay like the *neej* ryot, or he will very soon see who is master. In fact, the khas ryot never, or very seldom, attempts to assert his rights, when he does, he is ruined, root and branch, and very probably after much endurance, returns to his bonds a wiser man. Can any one wonder at this? If the khas ryots were allowed such advantages, what would become of the farmer's own estate? It would be depopulated in a year. He would be obliged to throw open to his own people, those advantages enjoyed by Government tenants and so be a great loser in income, or he must reduce them to his terms; the course is obvious, he will not give up one iota of *his comforts and profits*, for the (to him) ridiculous purpose of improving the condition of a parcel of ryots, and enhancing theirs; nor can it surprise any one that such *should* be the course of an ignorant and pampered mind. Besides all this additional rent, the khas ryot becomes subject to all the other exactions, which the karija ryot is liable to. Marriage fees, burial fees, nuzzurs, fines, &c., leave the unfortunate man the same improvident, poor being, he always was and ever will be, under the existing union of landlord and tenant. As we like to exemplify, we will here do so. While a Deputy Collector was out on duty in a certain district, he happened to anchor off a khas mehal; the people of it hearing this, came in a body to him, and made bitter complaints of the illegal proceedings of the *durizaradar*. Among other things, they stated, that he had fined one man twenty Rupees, and had sold his cows to meet the fine. The farmer heard of this proceeding on the part of the ryots, and threatened them, saying, you remember your last complaint, and how it ended; you shan't escape so easily this time. The neighbours lost heart, and the poor fellow who had been fined, foreseeing that he would not be able to get witnesses, hesitated; public duty of importance took the Deputy Collector away, and he heard nothing more of the case, but he firmly believes it to be true. We could bring a hundred similar cases, and we appeal to any one conversant with the subject, Collector, Magistrate or Planter, whether what we here advance has not frequently occurred, to their

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knowledge; and if so, is not this another reason to do away with this bastard system of farming.*

Another evil of the farming system is this, the Government's interests may suffer in the way of loss of land. Has any Deputy Collector been able to obtain the correct boundaries of a khas mehal, if the farmer is also the proprietor of the neighbouring karija estates? We are inclined to believe not. The first idea of such a farmer is to get as much as he can of the khas lands, into his karija talook; and to effect this, such marks and boundaries as can be, are silently removed. If he is a stranger or *leelam kurreedar*, he will sometimes take a howalah in a karija talook to the same end. One might suppose that surely the khas ryots would inform against this proceeding, as after all, they are better off as khas ryots than *neej*; —but those with a knowledge of the matter know they cannot, and will not; as the fact is, that they, the tenantry of this country, lie bound, as before remarked, hand and foot, at the mercy of their landlords. They have not the fable of the bundle of sticks in their traditionary lore, or if they have, they do not understand the moral of it. But to return to the subject, there is no one to look after Government interests in the Mofussil, and that all Deputy Collectors have found in many instances. One measured a mehal for settlement, and found, as he imagined, that it greatly exceeded the quantity given in the old chittas; during the day, the farmer of the land came to pay his respects.† He is a rather rich zemindar. Among other things, he stated that the assessment of his khas mehal was quite disproportioned to its value. On referring to the nuthee, it was seen that it *was* assessed at double the rate of the neighbouring khas mehals. The farmer could give no reason for this; he merely said, that one or two previous

* We will give an instance of what neej ryots are subject to. A well-known landlord in a certain zillah lately came of age—wished to levy a forced contribution from each of his tenants, for the purpose of paying off some family debts, at the rate of 7 *annas per Rupee on their jumma*. The writer was out on business in the neighbourhood, and saw the *lattials* on both sides collecting, the ryots having resisted this outrageous demand. Now here are the germs of what may be called a very pretty quarrel, and we were inclined to go out and see what was going on, but remembered the wholesome old adage, which says something about "bloody noses" being the consequence of interfering in quarrels, and so we (wisely) desisted. The natural exclamation is—Why don't they complain? They cannot. In the first place, did any one ever see a rich *chasi*, in the next, if they go kicking their heels about the court, who will look after their cultivation.

† A rather amusing instance of the inefficiency of the present police power is here developed. After the zemindar was gone, the Deputy Collector's amlahs informed him, that there was a purwannah out for his apprehension to appear before the Magistrate, and sign a bond to keep the peace, he having been guilty of some overt act of a breach of it. Why don't they send him in, said the Deputy? Oh, Sir, they replied, he is a very turbulent fellow, who's to catch him, adding significantly, he's very rich too.

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farmers had been sold out, owing, as he conjectured, solely to the high rate of assessment. On his leaving, the Deputy looked over all the nuthee again, and then the real facts were ascertained; there was nothing in the old chittas or Bengali records to show it, but in one corner of the Abstract Statement in English, it was written in figures, that the beegah in the mehal was 115 cubits square, or a fraction more than double the usual beegah of 80 cubits square; this accounted for the high assessment; but on making up the total of the quantity of land he had measured, the Deputy found that, instead of double (and more) than the quantity mentioned in the old chittas, he had only got five-eighths, or three-eighths less than what he ought to have had; he was two days wading nullahs and penetrating jungles with the chain himself, ferreting out land that the zemindari gomastah and people had concealed, and even then he was three or four biggahs minus, according to the account. Now the cunning fellow never mentioned to the Deputy Collector one word about the size of the former biggah, nor did his gomastah, nor the chowkeydars or ryots. One more instance, and the subject may be dismissed. At one estate that a Deputy Collector had to settle, and for the proper surveying and mapping of which, it being a rather extensive one, an ameen was appointed; he found some forty biggahs missing. The ameen reported he could get no "tikáná" of them, so the Deputy Collector went in person to see what could be done. He found some land which, according to the old chittas, were khas, but he could get no local information to identify them, all that the people said, was—"that land belongs to the —— zemindar; we know nothing about it." The farmer himself said, "I am only a leelam kurreeddar, and 'cannot say whether those lands are khas or not, I have never 'had possession of them. The fact is, (he argued) thus: If I 'get these lands, I shall certainly get some pecuniary profit, 'but to balance this, I shall be in a constant state of hot 'water with a powerful neighbour, how much that will cost 'one there's no knowing—I had better let them go, and I shall 'have at any rate a deduction in the amount of my next set-'tlement jumma equal to the amount of the lands missing." If this happens in one instance, it may happen in twenty. Who then is there to look to, on the part of Government?—No one—therefore this is another strong reason why the present farming system is bad; and we have given three cogent reasons why it should be superseded, viz.:—

1st. "The farmers do not improve the property or people."

2nd. "They do not adhere to the terms of their bonds."

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3rd. "Government interests suffer."

There is another reason too, which if not so weighty, still points to the same result. A farmer's rights and title, and proprietary interest in a khas mehal, may be sold in satisfaction of decrees of the civil or fiscal courts. Thus a farmer falls into arrears or debts: the farm is sold, and the purchaser steps into his place. Now here it is evident, that a property belonging to one, is sold to pay off another's debts, for the property *is not* the *farmer's*, he only farms it. There is no lack of buyers. It is evident then, that Government forego immense advantages and profits in the property, to pay themselves by the sale of these advantages, should the farmer fail in his engagement; for it may say, if we do not continue these advantages, who will buy a defaulter's interests, and if no one buys, how shall we get arrears recovered. This may pass, but then the proprietor's rights and interests are sold for private debts, and this without leave or license from the absolute owner, which is Government. We are aware that the plan has been followed, as the best that could be devised to meet the contingent circumstances, and as long as the farming system continues, it must exist, but we know no code or custom of any country, civilized or barbarous, that bears any analogy to it, and we think this, with the other reasons we have advanced, cries aloud for the abolition of the system.

But before abolishing the system, it will be absolutely necessary to have one in substitution; and the best that can be, we have no hesitation in saying, is "*khas management*" on an entirely modified basis. It has been stated that the Board of Revenue and the Governments, both Home and Local, admit khas management to be most advantageous to the exchequer, and most acceptable to the people, if ably conducted; but the attempt to introduce it failed, it was not profitable; general opinion also allows its superiority, and traces its failure to the want of integrity in the native subordinates employed in carrying it out. Instead of casting aside a very beneficial measure, it would have been better to have remedied the evils that surrounded it, and which perhaps were not trivial *in those days*. Khas management was not profitable, and why? We will attempt to show. A mehal was purchased, and was ordered to be put under khas management. The Collector doubtless had quite sufficient on his hands before; so frequently he was obliged to trust much to his subordinates. His headman, or whosoever among the amlah may have had his ekbál in the ascendant, would say to the huzzoor, I have a brother who wishes to be appointed tussildar to this new mehal. Very

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well, would reply the "Protector of the Poor," the pay is to be so much and the security so much. The *soi-disant* brother is forthwith appointed, the connecting link being probably a rouleau of Rupees, to be renewed monthly, so long as the *brother* continued tussildar. The latter would go to his appointment, pompously give out his connectionship, and immediately commence putting in order his screw propeller. Each man of the ryots was assessed at a certain rate on his, (the tussildar's) account, according to what the ryot paid Government. If any proved refractory, means were soon found, by all sorts of annoyances, to bring him to reason, or to get him ousted from his holding. Perhaps one man, bolder than the rest, would say, "This is too bad. I shall go in and complain," and off he would go. "Ah, ha! says the tussildar, is that it," and off would go a letter to his brother at the Sudder. This brother would get hold of complainant, as soon as he received the letter. Now if the relationship was a *bonâ fide* one, nothing more was required; but if fictitious, the favourite of Sudder would write off in reply to tussildar, that the complaint was a very serious one, and would cost, at least, sixteen or twenty Rupees to settle: the hint would be taken, and the money sent. The favorite would then turn round to the complainant and say, you are a quarrelsome budzát, and had better be off. Here, he would continue, turning round to his servants and people, turn this man out and look after him. Suppose the man still resolute, and determined to give in his complaint petition. The day it was to be given, the favorite, with all his mohurirs and nukkul nuveeshes, would surround the Collector, with heaps of papers, immediately on his commencing kutchery. "Good Heavens" would say the unfortunate *hakim*, "give me breathing room." That was quite enough: the favorite would turn round and say, "clear the court, and turn out all who have no business," and forthwith the poor complainant is hustled, pushed, and kicked out of court, perfectly cured of his complaining propensities. He would return to his village with the whole account, and no more intentions of complaining would ever be heard. The tussildar from that moment was supreme, his per-centage would be given without a murmur. Nuzzurs and fines would swell his fortunes, while his employers would be remitting yearly thousands. When the ryot paid his "kist," first was deducted the tussildar's per-centage, and what remained, he credited to the man's account with the Government. On making up his tussildaree accounts, there would generally be a balance of some hundreds, which he plausibly accounted for, and said it would be collected in a month or two. It was never thought

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of again, unless the Collector gave a severe order to send it in at once on pain of forfeiture of his appointment. The tussildar would immediately send in a lot of men with petitions against him, and on being called upon for a reply, would state that he was merely acting up to orders, it was true the people were hard up, but what could he do? The intermediate order would probably be to desist, till final orders were given, and these were to remit. If pestilence, famine or flood occurred, he still made his harvest: the disaster was patent to all, it was absolutely necessary to remit some part of the rent, on which remission the tussildar received his per-centage according to local circumstances. These things came to light perhaps on the appointment of a new Collector, and a tussildar here and there was dismissed; but what did they care? They had made their fortunes. Government, we suppose, seeing these remissions and losses, and hearing these complaints, (we mean of the chicanery of the tussildars) was obliged to resort to the farming system, giving up a scheme that originated in a patriarchal and benevolent feeling, and so fell the great hopes which budded in it, but which never blossomed.

In the mean time, the natives say that Government gave up the khas system because it would not pay. They did not like to take the chances of variable seasons, which they would escape by farming out their lands; for the farmer must pay, they say, let what will occur. In fact, they think the change a cunning contrivance on the part of Government, and do not make allowances for the advantages held out to farmers, which they look upon as the farmer's right. No one will for a moment wonder, that a scheme, however beneficial and just, failed under such circumstances, nor that it was unprofitable. Government, some may say, went too far in giving it up altogether; being one of such import, both financially and economically, as regarded the welfare of their subjects, they might have modified, changed, or remodelled it. As they did not, it may be assumed, that there are some sufficient reasons for their not doing so. Yet we believe that the system ought not to have been so hastily abandoned. We venture to think that under proper management, and properly conducted, the system possesses advantages which are not to be secured to the same extent in any other way.

We recommend then, that an officer be appointed on the pay of two, three or four hundred Rupees a month in every district, who shall be called agent or manager, (or whatever Government likes) of Government estates and land in his zillah, and that he shall perform the duties of an agent, *and those only*. We would

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by no means recommend that he have any judicial powers whatever, or if there is to be any exception, let him be a justice of the peace. It appears to have been considered, that Government service and judicial authority must be, "one and undivided,"—which has been a great mistake, as we could show, but we are not considering that point now. The manager or agent should have an office, in which he would be assisted by two, three or four clerks, as required. In this office should be registered fairly, and numbered, all the khas mehals in the district, with the nature of the lease of each ryot and the name of the lessee. Each mehal should be correctly mapped, and on the face of it such separate holding should be shown. On the fly leaf of the register should be written, mouza or kismut, so and so pergunnah—rates of land rent as sanctioned by Government, first-rate, second-rate, &c. And now commence the benefits and beauties of properly managed khas lands. The preliminaries being drawn up, the Government will call in the tenant of a kismut or a mouza, and say, "I, John Company do make you Dino-
'nath Chashi to wit that I have determined on being your direct
'landlord, as I hope to confer great benefits on you (and some
'on myself) by such a step; and to this end have appointed Ba-
'boo or Mr. so and so agent and manager of and for my estates
'in this zillah. I have settled the rates of rents, beyond which
'he shall not demand, and you shall not give, directly or indi-
'rectly. If you have any petty disputes, go to him, and he will
'settle them amicably, if he can, but he has no authority to fine
'or mulct you in any way—if you cannot settle amicably, go to
'the proper courts. I also see you have been in the habit
'of taking lands which you cannot or do not cultivate your-
'self, or being in want of money, you make over your
'rights to another, as a nim howlah, and perhaps that party
'makes it over to a third as nim vosut howlah, this causes
'confusion, quarrels and litigation. I wish to avoid that for
'your sakes. I have therefore determined that my tenants shall
'be tenants under bond, for which purpose I have drawn up
'two sets of leases. One is a lease for life, or even perpetual,
'by which you, having been a good tenant, may transmit the
'property to your heirs, provided they agree to the conditions
'that bound you; but this lease shall give you no power to
'alienate the property to any third party on any consideration.
'If you cannot cultivate it, or it is too much for you, give it up,
'and I will settle with another for it, or any part of it. But
'this clause shall not prevent your cultivating land by means of
'hired servants, or by agreement with another, who may give
'you part of the produce. Such a person shall claim by right

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'only such produce in part, and nothing shall give him a 'claim on the land, which is not yours, but mine, to barter. 'The other lease shall be one at will, you may throw up such 'whenever you like, giving three months' notice, with one 'year's certain tenure provided for therein; the same power 'reversely resting in me, as is but fair: and now, hark you, 'friend Dinonath, I must have my rents, I give you fair and 'favorable terms, such as your neighbours do not enjoy, and I 'expect in return no shuffling. To assist you, when I formerly 'managed my own (khas) mehals, I appointed tussildars 'to collect the rent: they with your connivance cheated 'me handsomely. I say with your connivance, though 'I do not think you profited much. I am inclined to be-'lieve that you and I got a shell each, and the tussildar 'got the oyster: under this impression I tell you to make 'your own arrangements to pay me regularly, but I must 'have a year's deposit in cash from all: if I consider 'that too much in any instance, I will be satisfied with a 'deposit to the amount of two *kists*. For the rest, settle among 'yourselves as to the remittance of each kist: call a punchayat, 'choose a man of your mouza, in whom is placed general 'confidence, choose two if you like, or come in yourselves. '*Only come*, and that regularly; If you don't, I will cut your 'deposit, and have further ordered, in such a case, my mana-'ger, with the permission of the Collector, to lease your pro-'perty to some one else, and you know, that having no raj-'dhutee, or nuzzurs, or fines to pay, you will be in such com-'fortable circumstances, that hundreds will flock to take your 'lands; but where you will find lands again, on such easy 'terms as you will lose, I do not know. Certainly not among 'the zemindars as yet. Besides, you Ram Doss, have an 'old *hatut*, which is remitted in the rent roll. You have 'allowed it to be over-run with jungle, and become impassable. 'I will give 8 annas, and you give 8 annas, and we will clear 'it, after which you must engage to keep it clear. You 'Buxoolla have dug a hole near your house for the sake of the 'earth you would get out of it, to raise your *beeta*. This you 'call a tank, I will help you to put it in order, after which you 'must keep it in order, at any rate, for a reasonable time. 'You Sheik Mahommed have property on one of my large 'churs; and I see a water course has commenced to run 'through it. A stitch in time saves nine, and if we don't see 'to this now, there's no knowing where it may end. I have 'unfortunately no staff of Civil Engineers to assist me in 'these things, but hope soon to have: in the mean time,

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'I'll see what can be done. Lastly; you Boirub Bur-
'neek have a shop in my market place of ——— . I
'see you are in the habit of sweeping all the filth into the
'middle of the road, and your neighbours do the same. Dogs,
'goats, and cows go about destroying the road, by making
'holes in it, which in the rains are up to the knees in slush. I
'won't allow this any more, I will make a nice even surface,
'over which I will strew old earthen pots and pans, broken
'to the proper size, and we will have a foot-path in front of
'the shops, and the centre shall be arched to the proper degree
'of convexity, with a drain on each side to run off the water.
'To do this, you and the others frequenting the haut, must
'subscribe. They will be able to do so, as they will have to
'give no chout for a standing in the market-place: what you
'all give I will double, and having put the place in order, I
'intend to appoint you and two or three other respectable in-
'habitants a committee to assist my manager to keep it so.
'You see what I am willing to do for you, and the advantages
'I hold out. All depends on your paying your rents regularly,
'remember that well, and I dare say we shall get along much
'more satisfactorily than we have hitherto been doing, and now
'go, sign your leases, and be off."

To drop this style, what is there that does not hold out hope of benefit from the above plan? When, as we before remarked, we consider how much depends on the land and its revenue, it cannot but be admitted that the sooner we can attain the true value of it, the better: such a value as shall pay the lord of the soil, and the plougher of it. Hitherto it has had but a fictitious one; all cry out at the unjustness of the financial policy of this country, which taxes only the agriculcurist. We do not agree with these argumentists, but we will admit that the illegal exactions, which have become the *lex non scripta* of the country, go far to render that an unjust measure, which in itself is substantially reasonable. Government found the tax when the country was made over to them, and they have continued it. They have greatly modified it, and have passed laws for its better regulation, but inasmuch as example is better than precept, this will further improve it, by taking their own lands under their own management, and thus shewing the zemindars what can be done by straight-forward and honest terms: these last must *pari passu* go with them, or their lands will be denuded of tenants, who will flock to the khas lands, and those that will not will lose their estates; and very deservedly so.

We do not hold that Government should go deeper into khas

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tenures than they are at present, or than they are obliged to go; for we have enough of the leaven of feudality in us to believe that every country requires a landed gentry and aristocracy, if they are fit and proper. We advance only this, that Government ought to do every thing they can, through the means already in their power, to benefit their subjects, and we further believe that what we have above advocated will enable them to do so.

We now come to the consideration of how all this can be managed without additional expense; for the Government may say, we already forego so much, we can afford no more. No more is wanted. It will be from those profits that funds will be found, not only to pay a manager and office, and assist ryots with donations to clear their tanks and grounds, but enough will be left over to give a fair profit to Government, should they wish to take advantage of it. Thus;—there are two sorts of khas farms, called respectively "khas" and "shikimee." To the former class belong all alluvial formations called "churs," and also all estates, the proprietory rights in which have lapsed to Government. In farming out such estates, the Government allows the farmer a very large per-centage for the trouble of collecting the rent and looking after and improving the property: this per-centage, called "tussildaree," sometimes amounts to 30 per cent on collections, and is never less than 15 per cent, say the average is 20. The other or shikimee khas are under tenures paying revenue to Government; but the proprietory right to which lodges in the zemindar. In these not only tussildaree but malikana is allowed, and the two together seldom amount to less than 25 per cent, often to 30 per cent. We have often asked what malikana means, and have never yet obtained a satisfactory answer. We believe that it is identical with that deduction allowed to land-holders by Lord Cornwallis, when the permanent settlement was made, on their agreeing to give up the sayer duties, and also all improper exactions; but then we ask ourselves how it is, that shikimee khas farmers are allowed it. Take pergunnah Boogoorgomedpore for instance, where a friend of the writer made some forty or fifty settlements this year. This pergunnah was first cleared of jungle, it is supposed, about 150 years ago, by one Dyal Chand, assisted by a Ram Kissore Doopee: traces of both are still to be found in the country. It is next seen in the possession of one Aga Bakur, a satrap of the Court of Dacca,* and from him descended to his son (as

* The materials of a very pretty romance are to be found in the fate of Dyal Chand and his family, and the rise of Aga Bakur, comprising love unlicensed and unholy, revenge and self-immolation.

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far as we can make out) Aga Saduk. We have seen a deed of gift under the latter's sign and seal, dated about 112 years back, viz., A. D. 1744, B. S. 1148. A few years previous to Aga Saduk's time, A. D. 1737, Murad Ali was sent as Deputy Governor to Dacca, and he took one Rajbullub with him in some low capacity. This man rose, according to Eastern custom, by rapacity and bribery, to great influence and riches, and ultimately we find him in possession of Boogoorgomedpore. He was in possession of it in the year 1756, and Sooraj-u-Dowla, wishing to squeeze some of his plunder out of him, placed him in confinement, sending orders to Dacca at the same time to seize all his family in that province: as is known in history, his son Kissen Dass escaped to Calcutta, and the refusal to give him up caused the capture of that place and the horrors of the black hole. The family escaped, however, that time with heavy fines, until the disputes of 1763, between the Nawab Nazim Cassim Ali, and the English, when the Nawab finding Rajbullub favorable to the English, just previous to his declaration of hostilities, murdered him and all his sons,—drowned them in the Bhagiratti, we think historians say, at least local tradition has it so, and adds, that all his sons were not killed: out of six two escaped, and several grand-children, and that must have been the case, for some direct descendants still exist, though in a very dilapidated condition. In 1768, (we think) the East India Company got the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, from the Emperor of Delhi, but having no authority from home, the Administration was one of dreadful confusion. People who possessed a little pluck, rose up on all sides, declared themselves independent land-holders, and refused to acknowledge either the East India Company or the native zemindars; the quarrels, too, among the family of Rajbullub, which had by this greatly encreased, and that vile practice which existed of land-holders when hard up, alienating large tracts of land, as talooks and baulahs, &c., on very easy terms, for the consideration of a few Rupees paid down, brought pergunnah Boogoorgomedpore to the hammer in 1799, (we think, and it was purchased by Government for Co.'s Rs. *one*, no one coming forward to bid for it. Government called on all under-tenure holders, who wished to have them "karij kured," to come forward; many did. And then was seen the extent of losses accruing from giving leases for lands at half their value for a few Rupees nuzzurana; those who wished having "karij kured" their lands; the remainder are the shikimee khas mehals given in farm: but these farmers get malikana: and we do not see why they should, as evidently Government is

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the malik.* *They get it*, however; and that, with the percentage for collections or expenses of collection, amounts to a very large sum; from this sum we would propose to pay an efficient manager and establishment; and from it we would lay by enough for improvements; and the rest, for we believe there will be a *rest*, may be expended as Government wish. This district, for example, we will say, yields about Co.'s Rs. 250,000 khas rents yearly. The collection-expenses and malikana on this sum at 20 per cent., and it is seldom so low, will give Rs. 50,000 a year. With such a plain figure statement, it is unnecessary to go into detail as to how funds are to be raised. Say that the expenses of a manager, including his pay, travelling allowances, office and contingent charges, amount to Rs. 10,000 per annum, and Government give Rs. 10,000 a year for improvements in the khas mehals, there will still remain Co.'s Rs. 30,000 for Government uses. What becomes of this Rs. 50,000 now? It is frittered away in small sums among hundreds, leaving but a small share individually, not enough itself to keep the receiver in idle respectability, so that if he has no other resources, he makes up what he wants by arbitrary exactions.

Rs. 10,000 may appear a small sum for improvements, but it must be remembered that it will be doubled by the tenants giving a half of all sums required for improving their property; that is, if the improvement is a mere individual benefit; if a general one, by all subscribing alike who may benefit by it. Again, the tenant's share or shares may be paid as labor instead of money; so that it may not encroach upon his purse; it will be but enforcing proper sanatary precautions, which all Governments have the power to do, and ought to do.

The details of a manager's duties will be simple; he will be subordinate to the Collector. He will have three or four clerks, between whom will be distributed the accounts of the khas mehals. Each clerk will have two books, in one of which a detailed account of each estate will be kept; as for example, on the fly leaf will be written

Mouzah or Kismut.
Rates of fixed rents.
List of tenants. page. &c. &c.

On turning to the leaf, the account of the tenant will be found, how much land he holds, in what lots or dags of the map and

* *Malikana* is no longer allowed. By the way there are two varieties of khas mehals, *churs* and shikimee tenures, both requiring reformed management.

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chittas they are indicated, which map and chittas will be prefixed to the account or index. The other book will contain an abstract of how much land each estate has, the amount of rent due from it, and the days when rent will be paid. The Collector will of course know all this, and as the tenants come in they will go with their rent to the manager, who will give a printed paper, stating that every thing is correct; with this paper and the money he will send them to the treasury, and the Collector's initials on the paper will constitute it a full receipt. Those who do not pay will have their deposits cut, and if they make it a point of being in arrears, they should be ousted, and if the agent is an able active man of business, understanding and taking an interest in his work, and who will give the ryots the full benefit of all the advantages held out by Government, he will have hundreds coming in to take land from him. And here we would add that the agent or manager must be a man of experience: no one should be appointed from mere interest, or because he is a senior-scholarship holder. When arrangements work well, these latter may be admitted, for the same energy that carried them to the head of the college will take them to the top of their profession very probably.

Lastly, we see but two causes of doubt as to the success and propriety of the measures we have herein proposed. The first is, will the khas tenants stick to their engagements and pay their rent regularly? We think we may assume that they will, when the immense advantages that will accrue to them become developed, no fines nor nuzzurs, no raj dhootee. Self-interest alone will urge them. In lieu of the above, they will only have to pay a share of whatever remuneration they may privately arrange to a voluntary tussildar, and he, who will probably be a comparatively large farmer in the kismut or parish, will do his best to carry out the system, and thereby escape the clutches of an izaradar, which a failure of it will entail. We could adduce other reasons as cogent.

The second reason is as to its justness. Many farmers will be thrown out of income, it may be said, and is it legally just to deprive them of that which they have from long possession at last become to consider as vested rights? A farmer may say, the land may be considered as yours, but I held it before you purchased it, you made a settlement with me for it, I have regularly paid you as malik the premium you required, and it is very hard to dispossess me now. I have no other means of livelihood, my caste forbids me to trade or to become a mechanic, or to labor agriculturally. What are we to do? The reply is instant. True, I entered into arrangements with

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you about this land, but nothing in the deed recognizes your independent right. I rented you the land in the hope you would do some good to it, as conducive to your own interests, and to the same end I gave up large profits. What have you done for my land? Have you improved its agricultural capabilities? No. Have you improved the condition of my ryot? No. Have you laid out money on local benefits and advantages? No. While all the rest of the civilized world has been advancing in the science of agriculture, have you made a step in advance? No. What have you done then that I should listen favorably to you? Where are the ten talents I gave you? They are still ten. And to another: Where are your five? They are still five, peradventure only four! My tenants look to me for help, and what is more, I look to them for the funds necessary to carry on my Government, and mutual benefits require a closer connection. I can also get them a greater return in profits for the advantages I have conceded to you, on their account as well as yours: the world admits that a true principle of political economy (of which however you know nothing) is that it is proper that one should suffer rather than many. On that principle I will act, and let justice judge between us.

We have nothing more to say on the subject at present. We only repeat that the changes we have advocated are, we believe, due to the happiness of the people, and are founded on justice. As such we cast them on the waters, fully believing that time and experience will favorably prove their merits, and these are the only criteria that never deceive.

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ART. II.—1. *Sirat Wâckidi. Arabic MS.*
2. *Sirat Tabari. Ditto Ditto.*
3. *Sirat Hishâmi. Ditto Ditto.*
4. *Life of Mohammed, by A. Sprenger, M. D. Allahabad,* 1851.
5. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes pendant L'Epoque de Mahomet: par M. A. P. C. de Perceval. Paris,* 1848, *vols.* 1 *and* 3.
6. *Mohammed der Prophet. Dr. Gustav Weil. Stuttgart,* 1843.

IN the beginning of the tenth year of his Mission, (the 50th of his life,) Mahomet was still shut up in the isolated quarters of Abu Tálib, whither all his near kinsmen, unbelievers as well as converts, had, in consequence of their support of the prophet, been forced to retire. No one ventured forth except at the annual pilgrimage. Buying and selling, giving and receiving in marriage,—all the intercommunications of social life, were suspended between them and the rest of the Coreish. The Hâshimites were thus virtually blockaded for the space of two or three years.

At last the sympathies of a numerous section of the Coreish were aroused. They saw in this form of persecution something more than a conscientious struggle against an Impostor. The justice of extending the ban to the whole Hâshimite stock seemed doubtful. Many, especially those related to the family, began to grieve at the breach.

It was discovered by some of the friends of Mahomet that the parchment in the Kaaba on which the ban was engrossed, had been almost entirely devoured by insects. The important news was told to Mahomet, and to Abu Tâlib, who resolved to found thereon an effort for the dissolution of the league. The venerable chief, now more than fourscore years of age,* issued forth from his shut-up quarters, with a band of followers, to the Kaaba. Addressing the chief men of the Coreish, as usual assembled there, he said,—"Intelligence hath reached me that your deed hath been eaten up of insects; if my words be found true, then desist from your evil designs,—if false, I will deliver up Mahomet that ye may do with him as ye list." All agreed that it should be thus. So they sent for the document,

* *Wâckidi, p.* 23.

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and when they had opened it, lo! it had been devoured by white-ants and was no longer legible. Abu Tâlib, perceiving their confusion, bitterly upbraided them with inhumanity and breach of social obligation: he then advanced with his band to the Kaaba, and standing behind the curtain, prayed to the Lord of the Holy House for deliverance from their machinations. Having done this, he retired again to his abode.

The murmurs of the party that favoured the Hâshimites, now found an opportunity of effective utterance. The partizans of the Prophet were emboldened. The Coreish had hardly recovered from surprise at the sudden appearance, and as sudden departure, of Abu Tâlib, when five chief men rose up from their midst, and declaring themselves inimical to the league, put on their armour, and proceeded to the quarter of Abu Tâlib. Standing by, they commanded all that had taken refuge there to go forth to their respective homes in security and peace. So they went forth in the tenth year of the prophet's mission, 619—620 A. D. The Coreish, confounded by the boldness of the stroke, offered no opposition: they perceived that a strong party had grown up who would resent by arms any attempt to lay violent hands upon the Moslems.*

The rest and liberty that followed the breaking up of the hostile league were not long to be enjoyed by Mahomet. In a few months he was visited by trials more severe than any that had yet befallen him. The tenth year of his mission (the third before the Hegira) had not yet passed when Khadija died, and five weeks later his protector Abu Tâlib also.†

* Among the five chiefs was Abul Bokhtari, whose safety Mahomet endeavoured in return vainly to secure at Badr. Another was Zohair, a maternal grandson of Abd al Muttalib. A third was Mutím, who shortly afterwards took the Prophet under his protection on his return from Tâyif.

The version in the text is chiefly from Wâckidi, (p. 40,) with the omission only of the fiction that *God had communicated to his prophet*, the information that the document had been eaten up *all except the words "in the name of God,"* with which (according to the ancient Meccan custom, *Tabari*, p. 147,) it commenced, and that Abu Tâlib told this to the Coreish.

Two separate traditions are given both by Hishâmi and Tabari. One as above. The other that the five chiefs had first concerted together to procure the dissolution of the league: and that the Coreish were already influenced by their appeal when Mutim arose to tear up the document, and found that it had been eaten up. *Hishâmi*, 118 — *Tabari*, 145.

We have endeavoured to weave both versions into the likeliest historical form. Weil supposes the document to have been destroyed during the night by some partizan of Mahomet. But this could hardly have been done. The ravages of white-ants could not thus have been easily counterfeited: they have a peculiar appearance.

† The authorities regarding these dates are contradictory, and we must be content with probabilities.

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The death of his wife was a sore affliction. For five-and-twenty years she had been his counseller and support, and now his heart and home were left desolate. His family however no longer needed her maternal care. The younger daughter, Fâtima, was approaching womanhood,* and an attachment was perhaps already forming with Ali, her father's nephew and adopted son. Though Khadîja, (at her death three score and five years old,) must have long ago lost the charms of youth, and though the custom of Mecca allowed polygamy, yet Mahomet was, during her life time, restrained from other marriages by affection and gratitude, and perhaps also by the wish to secure more entirely for his cause the influence of her family. His grief at her death was at first inconsolable, for he was liable to violent and deep emotion; but its effects were transient. The room of Khadîja could be filled, though her devotion and virtues might not be rivalled, by numerous successors.

The loss of Abu Tâlib, who lived and died an unbeliever, was, if possible, a still severer bereavement. We may dismiss without much attention the legend that on his death-bed, in reply to the earnest appeal of his nephew, he declared that he was prevented from giving his assent to the creed of Islâm only because he feared the imputation of terror at the approach of death.† Whatever he may have said to comfort Mahomet, his whole life belies the accusation that the fear of the Coreish restrained him from avowing his convictions. The sacrifices and loss to which Abu Tâlib exposed himself and his

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Wâckidi says (p. 23,) that Khadîja died *after* Abu Tâlib a month and five days: Ibn Coteiba also, that she died after him three days. The authorities, however, quoted in the Mowâhibâ-alladoniya, give Ramadhân (December 619,) as the date of Khadîja's death, and Shawwâl (January 620,) for that of Abu Tâlib. Sprenger is not clear; in one place (p. 196, note 2,) he says that "Khadîja died *after* Abu Tâlib;" but in the next page, "one month and five days after his wife he lost his uncle and protector, the noble-minded Abu Tâlib."

The middle of Shawwâl is the date generally agreed upon for Abu Tâlib's decease, (Wâckidi, p. 23:) and the end of the same month, or about a fortnight later, as the period when Mahomet, down-cast, and distressed at the *two* bereavements, set out for Tâyif. We must therefore either suppose that Khadîja died within this fortnight, *i. e.* within the last fifteen days of Shawwâl, or that she died *before* Abu Tâlib. Ibn Coteiba's tradition that she died three days after Abu Tâlib, would be consistent with the former supposition. But the interval between the two deaths is generally represented as thirty-five days; (Wâckidi, pp. 23, 40.)

In this view it seems more natural to adopt the alternative that she died in the first half of Ramadhân, (December 619;) that Abu Tâlib died in the middle of Shawwâl (January 620:) and that Mahomet, overcome by despondency at these succesive bereavements, and by the renewed opposition of the Coreish, set out for Tâyif the end of the latter month.

* She would be then about twelve or thirteen years of age.

† See Weil's Mohammad, p. 67, note 79: and Wâckidi, p. 22½.

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family for the sake of his nephew, while yet incredulous of his mission, stamp his character with singularly noble and unselfish features; while at the same time they afford strong proof of the sincerity of Mahomet himself. Abu Tâlib would not have acted thus for an interested deceiver; and he had ample means of scrutiny.

When the patriarch felt that life was ebbing, he summoned his brethren, the sons of Abd al Muttalib, around his bed, commended his nephew to their protection, and having delivered himself of this trust, died in peace.* Mahomet wept bitterly for his uncle; and not without good reason. For forty years he had been the prop of his childhood, the guardian of his youth, the tower of his defence in later life. The place of Khadîja might be supplied, but not that of Abu Tâlib. His very unbelief rendered his influence the stronger. So long as he survived, Mahomet needed not to fear violence or attack. There was no strong hand now to protect him from his foes.

Grieved and dispirited by these bereavements, following so closely one upon the other, and dreading the now unrepressed insolence of the Coreish, Mahomet kept chiefly at home, and seldom went abroad.† The dying behest of Abu Tâlib had now an unexpected effect; for Abu Lahab, heretofore the avowed enemy of Mahomet, was softened by his despondency and distress, and spontaneously assumed his protection;—"*Do*," he said, "*as thou hast been in the habit of doing, while Abu Tâlib was yet with us. By Lât! no one shall hurt thee while I live.*" But the generous pledge was not long observed. Abu Lahab was soon gained back by the Coreish to their party, and Mahomet left to protect himself as he best could.‡

* "After his death Mahomet prayed for his salvation; but he had not yet gone forth from the house, when Gabriel descended with the verse forbidding to pray for unbelievers who have died in incredulity." *Wâckidi, p.* 23, *See Sura IX.* 115. This verse however occurs in one of the latest Suras; there is no reason to believe that the rule enunciated in it had yet been given forth before the Hegira, though the system was fast tending towards it.

It is also said that Mahomet wept and commanded Ali to wash his father's corpse, and place it in the winding sheet, and bury him. *Wâckidi, Ibid.* But this looks like one of the Alyite traditions, which would refer all important commissions to Ali. It is not probable that the last services to a man of Abu Tâlib's position, surrounded by brothers and sons, would be left to Ali alone, acting under Mahomet's orders.

† *Wâckidi, p.* 40—*Hishâmi, p.* 138—*Tabari*, p. 149. The two latter say that the indignities he suffered at this time were so great that on one occasion the lower classes cast dirt upon his head. He returned to his house in this plight, and one of his daughters arose to wipe it off, and she wept. And Mahomet said, "*My daughter, weep not! for verily the Lord will be thy father's helper.*" They add that he suffered no such indignity as that while Abu Tâlib lived.

‡ This curious episode is given in detail by Wâckidi, p. 40. At first when Ibn Ghaitala abused Abu Lahab as a renegade for taking the part of Mahomet, the

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The position of the Arabian prophet was now critical. He must either gain the ascendancy at Mecca, abandon his prophetical claims, or perish in the struggle. Islam must either destroy Idolatry, or Idolatry destroy Islam. He could not remain stationary. His followers, though devotedly attached to him, and numbering a few *once* influential citizens, were but a handful against a host. Open hostilities, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent them, might any day be precipitated and his cause irretrievably lost. He was not gaining ground at Mecca. There had been no conversions, none at least of any note, since he was joined by Omar and Hamza, three or four years before. A few more years of similar discouragement, and his cause was lost.

Pondering thus, Mahomet began to look around him. The Meccans knew not the day of their visitation, and had well nigh sealed their doom. It was perhaps the will of the Lord that succour and salvation should come from some other people. Tâyif (about seventy miles to the east of Mecca,) was the nearest city of importance: it might be that God would turn the hearts of its inhabitants, the idolatrous Thâckifites, and use them as his instruments to chastise the Meccans, and establish his religion on the earth. To them, accordingly, he resolved to deliver his message.

Abu Tâlib had been buried hardly a fortnight, when Mahomet, followed only by the faithful Zeid, set out on his adventurous mission.* His road (as far as Arafat it was the Pilgrim track,) lay over dismal rocks and through barren defiles for about forty miles, when it emerged on the crowning heights of Jebel Kora, with its rich gardens and charming prospect. Thence descending through fertile valleys, the smiling fruits and flowers of which suggested perhaps the bright picture of the conversion of the Thâckifites, he advanced to their city. Though connected by frequent intermarriage, the inhabitants

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Coreish admitted the excuse of Abu Lahab, and even praised him for his attempt "to bind up family differences." But shortly after Ocba and Abu Jahl told him to ask in what place Abd al Muttalib was, and on Mahomet's confessing that he was in Hell, Abu Lahab left him in indignation, saying, "I will not cease to be thine enemy for ever!"

Whatever may have been the immediate cause, it is evident that Abu Lahab was led again to abandon his nephew through the instigation of the evil-disposed Coreish.

* Hishâmi, (p. 136,) and Tabari, (p. 149,) say that he went entirely alone; — but Wâckidi, (p. 40½) that he was accompanied by Zeid, who was wounded in attempting to defend his master. As to the date Wâckidi says "there were still some days of Shawwâl remaining," when he started.

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of Tâyif were jealous of the Coreish.* They had a *Lât*, or chief idol, of their own. It might be possible, by appealing to their national pride, as well as to their conscience, to enlist them on the side of Islâm against the people of Mecca. Mahomet proceeded to the three principal men of the city, who were brothers ;† and having explained his mission, invited them to the honour of sustaining the cause, and supporting him in the face of his hostile tribe. But he failed in producing conviction. They cast in his teeth the common objections of his own people, and recommended him to seek for protection in some other quarter.‡

Mahomet remained in Tâyif for about ten days ; but, though many of the influential men came at his call, no hopeful impression was made upon them. One favour he asked, that they would not divulge the object of his visit, for he feared the taunts and hostility of the Coreish ; but this, even if possible, the men of Tâyif were little likely to concede. For the first few days perhaps the common people regarded with awe the prophet who had turned Mecca upside down, and whose preaching probably many had heard at the pilgrimages or fairs. But the treatment he was receiving at the hands of their chiefs, and the disproportion to the outward eye between the magnitude of his claims and his solitary helpless condition, turned fear into contempt. They were stirred up to hasten the departure of the unwelcome visitor. They hooted him in the streets ; they pelted him with stones ; and at last he was obliged to flee out of their city, pursued by a relentless rabble. Blood flowed from wounds in both his legs ; and Zeid, in endeavouring to shield him, received a severe injury in his head. The mob would not desist until they had chased him two or three miles across the sandy plain to the foot of the hills that surround the city. There, wearied and mortified, he took refuge in one of the numerous orchards, and rested under a vine.§

* They were descended from a common ancestor with the Coreish, Modhar, (B. C. 31.) *See Article on the Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia, p.* 42. In illustration of their independent and antagonistic position, see their hostile conduct in siding with Abraha in his invasion of Mecca : *Forefathers of Mahomet, p.* 17.

† One of them had a Coreishite wife of the Bani Jumh, a branch that contained many adherents of Islam, and must therefore have been intimately acquainted with the politics of Mecca and the claims and position of Mahomet.

‡ Hishâmi has given the words of each, but they are probably imaginary, p. 137.

§ "The town is celebrated all over Arabia for its beautiful gardens : but these are situated at the foot of the mountains which encircle the sandy plain. I did not see any gardens, nor even a single tree within the walls ; and the immediate neighbourhood is entirely destitute of verdure." "The nearest gardens appeared

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Hard by was the garden of two of the Coreish, Otba and Sheyba; for the wealthy Meccans had their pleasure grounds, (as they still have,) near Tâyif.* They watched the flight of Mahomet; and moved with compassion, sent a tray of grapes for his refreshment.† Their slave, a Christian from Nineveh, who brought them to him, was charmed by the pious style of the prophet's address: and Mahomet was perhaps solaced more by the humble devotion of Addâs than by the grateful shade and juicy grapes.‡ After a little, composed and re-assured, he betook himself to prayer, and several touching and submissive petitions are still preserved as those in which his burdened soul gave vent to its complaint.§

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to be on the S. W. side, at the distance of about half or three quarters of an hour." *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, p.* 85.

The quarter from which Mahomet made his escape, would be the west; so that he would probably have at least some three miles of sandy plain to cross before he secured his retreat to one of the gardens.

* *Burkhardt, p.* 85.

† Burkhardt "tasted at Tâyif grapes of a very large size and delicious flavour. The gardens are also renowned for the abundance of their roses." *Ibid.* The gardens on the eminences of Jebel Kora also abound in vines "the produce of which is of the best quality," besides a variety of other fruits: *Idem, p.* 64. The grapes were ripe when the traveller passed in the months of August and September; the visit of Mahomet was (according to M. C. de Perceval's calculations,) about four months later.

‡ The story of Addâs is not in Wâckidi. Hishâmi and Tabari give it with many fanciful additions. When Addâs offered the grapes Mahomet exclaimed, "*in the name of God,*" as he stretched forth his hand to receive them. "Is this the mode of speech," asked the slave, "of the people of this country?" "And of what country" said Mahomet, "art thou, and what is thy religion?" "A Christian of the people of Nineveh."—"Ah!" replied Mahomet, "of the people of the righteous Jonas the son of Mattai!"—"And what hath made thee acquainted with Jonas son of Mattai?"—"He was my brother; for he was a prophet, and I too am a prophet." Whereupon Addâs fell to kissing the head and hands and feet of Mahomet, to the astonishment of his masters, who were looking on from a distance.

The story in this form is of course apocryphal; and we should have omitted the incidents regarding Addâs altogether, but that it is difficult to conceive how they could have found their way into this particular part of the history, without *some* foundation of fact. It is probable therefore that Mahomet did meet and converse with a Christian slave on this occasion.

§ The prayer is touching and plaintive. It is thus given by Hishâmi, (p. 137,) and Tabari, (p. 151):—

اللهم اليك اشكو ضعف قوتي و قلة حيلتي وهواني علي
الناس • يا ارحم الراحمين انت رب المستضعفين وانت
ربي الي من تكلني الي بعيد يتجهمني او الى عدو
ملكته امري ان لم يكن بك علي غضب لا ابالي ولكن

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Reinvigorated by this pause, he set forth on his journey homewards. About half way, loth to return to Mecca, he halted in the valley of Nakhla, where was an idol-fane, a grove and a garden.* There, as he arose at night to prayer, or perhaps as he dreamed, his excited and nervous imagination pictured crowds of Genii pressing forward to hear his exhortations, and ardent to embrace Islâm. The romantic scene has been perpetuated in the Coran :—

"And call to mind when We caused a company of the Genii to turn aside unto thee that they might listen to the Coran; And when they were present at the recitation thereof, they said *Give ear*. And when it was

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عافيتك هي اوسع لي • اعوذ بنور وجهك الكريم
الذي اشرقت له الظلمات وصلح عليه امر الدنيا
والاخرة من ان ينزل بي غضبك او تحل علي سخطك
• لك العتبي حتي ترضي ولا حول ولا قوة الا بك •

"Oh Lord! I make my complaint unto thee of the feebleness of my strength, and the poverty of my expedients; and of my contemptibleness before mankind. Oh thou most Merciful! thou art the Lord of the Weak, and thou art my Lord. In whose power wilt thou leave me? In the power of Strangers who beset me, or of the Enemy to whom thou hast given the mastery over me? If *thy* wrath be not upon me. I have no anxiety, but rather thy favour is the more wide unto me. I take refuge in the light of thy benign Countenance, which disperseth the Darkness, and causeth Peace both for this world and the next, that thy Wrath light not upon me, and that thine Indignation rest not on me. It is thine to show Anger until thou art pleased, and there is no Resource or Power but with Thee."

* *Nakhla* was a valley about half-way between Mecca and Tâyif. It is famous as the scene of the first expedition planned by Mahomet against the Meccans in which blood was shed. In describing it on that occasion, Wâckidi says, "the valley of Nakhla is a garden of the son of Amir near to Mecca." But the *nearness* has reference only to Medîna, from which the expedition proceeded, and is quite consistent with the assumed position half-way between Mecca and Tâyif.

There was an image of *Uzza*, held in estimation by the Coreish and other tribes, and destroyed after the taking of Mecca. *Wâckidi, p.* 129.—*Hishâmi p.* 371.—*C. de Perceval, vol. I. p.* 269, *III.* 241. Its position is farther marked by the "engagement of Nakhla" in the sacrilegious war during the youth of Mahomet. The Hawâzin pursued the Coreish from the fair of Ocatz to this spot, which was within the sacred limits around Mecca, or at least close upon them;—*See "Life of Mahomet from his youth, &c." p.* 3, *C. de Perceval, I.* 307.

It may probably be the same as the "Wady Mohram" noticed by Burkhardt, as the place where the pilgrims for Mecca assume the Ihrâm or pilgrim garb, (p. 67.) The supposition is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the party sent by Mahomet to Nakhla shaved themselves *there*, to deceive the caravan they were about to attack into the belief that they were peaceable pilgrims. Wady Mohram, like the Nakhla of Mahomet's time, has still fruit trees and gardens. Wâckidi's statement that there was a garden at Nakhla proves that it was on the Tâyif side of the mountain range, as all on the Meccan side is barren.

On the whole M. C. de Perceval's description of Nakhla as "midway between Mecca and Tâyif," (vol. III. p. 34,) may be accepted as pretty accurate.

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ended, they returned unto their people preaching:—they said, Oh our People! verily we have been listening to a Book which hath been sent down since Moses, attesting the Truth of the Scripture preceding it. It guideth unto the Truth and into the straight Path. Oh our People! Obey the Summoner from God, and believe in him, that He may forgive you your sins, and save you from an awful Punishment." *Sura* XLVI., verse 29, &c.*

After staying some days at Nakhla, he again proceeded towards Mecca; but before entering the city, which he feared (now that the object of his visit to Tâyif could not remain a secret) to do without a protector, he turned aside by a northward path, to his ancient haunts in the vicinity of Mount Harâ.† From thence he despatched two unsuccessful messages to solicit the guardianship of influential chiefs. At last he bethought him of Mutím, (one of the five who had been instrumental in procuring the cancelment of the ban,) and sent him word beseeching that he would bring him in unto the city under his protection; and he assented. So having summoned his sons and adherents, Mutím bade them buckle on their armour, and take their stand by the Kaaba. Mahomet and

* The scene is also described in *Sura* LXXII., which opens thus:—

"SAY; it hath been revealed to me that a company of Genii listened, and they said,—Verily we [have heard a marvellous discourse (lit. *Coran*;)
It leadeth to the right direction; so we believed therein, and we will not henceforth associate [any with our Lord;
And as to Him,—may the Majesty of our Lord be exalted!—
He hath taken no Spouse, neither any Offspring.
But verily the foolish people amongst us have spoken of God that which is unjust;
And we verily thought that no one amongst Men or Genii would have uttered a lie against God.
And verily there are people amongst men, who seek for refuge unto people among the Genii, but [they only multiplied their Folly.
And verily they thought, as ye think, that God would not raise any from the dead.
And we tried the Heavens, but found them filled with a powerful Guard, and with flaming Darts;
And we sat on some of the Stations to listen, but whoever listeneth now-a-days findeth an am- [bush of flaming Darts.
And truly we know not whether evil be intended for them that are on Earth, or whether their Lord [intendeth for them right direction.
And verily there are amongst us righteous persons, and amongst us persons of another kind;— [we are of various sorts:
And verily we thought that no one could frustrate God on earth, neither could we escape from [Him by flight;
Wherefore when we heard the direction, we believed therein,"—*(and so on, the Genii speak-* [*ing as true Moslems*)

. . . . . .

'And verily when the servant of God (Mahomet) stood up to call upon Him, they (the Genii) were near jostling him by their numbers," &c.

Notwithstanding the *crowds* here alluded to, Hishâmi (whose traditional authorities seem to have had a wonderfully intimate acquaintance with the habits and haunts of the Genii,) states that they were *seven* Genii belonging to Nisibin, who happening to pass that way, were arrested by hearing Mahomet at his devotions reciting the Coran. Others say they were *nine* in number and came from Yeman, or from Nineveh. And it is added that they professed the Jewish religion! This of course from the reference made by them in the Coran to *Moses*.

† Burkhardt mentions that on the Meccan side of the Minâ valley (*i. e.* the Tâyif road,) there is "a side valley leading toward Jebel Nûr" or Harâ. It may have been by this or a similar glen by which Mahomet turned aside to his cave and old haunts. *Burkhardt, p.* 279.

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Zeid then entered Mecca, and when they had reached the Kaaba, Mutím stood upright on his camel and called aloud,—"Oh ye Coreish! verily I have given a pledge of protection unto Mahomet; wherefore let not any one amongst you molest him." Then Mahomet went forward and kissed the corner stone, and returned to his house guarded by Mutím and his party. The generosity and faithfulness of Mutím have been perpetuated by Hæsân the poet of Medîna and friend of the Prophet.*

There is something lofty and heroic in this journey of Mahomet to Tâyif;—a solitary man, despised and rejected by his own people, going boldly forth in the name of God, like Jonah to Nineveh,—to summon an idolatrous city to repentance and to the support of his mission. It sheds a strong light on the intensity of his belief in the divine origin of his own calling.

Mahomet now sought for solace, amid family bereavement and public indignities, in a fresh matrimonial alliance. Sakrân with his wife Sawda, both of Coreishite blood, (but of a stock remote from that of Mahomet,) had early become converts to Islâm, and emigrated to Abyssinia. They had again returned to Mecca, where Sakrân died. Mahomet now made suit to Sawda, and the marriage, (so far as we know not one of mere interest and convenience, but of affection,) was celebrated within two months from the death of Khadîja.†

* The following are the lines, which form a good illustration of the value of contemporary poetry, in bringing auxiliary evidence in support of traditional facts:—

عيني الا ابكي سيد الناس واسفحى * وان انزفته
فاسكبي الدما * فلو كان مجد يخلد الد هر واحدا *
من الناس ابقي مجد ليوم مطعما * اجرت رسول الله
مذمم فاصبحوا * عبيد ك ما لبي مهن واحرما *

Weep, Oh my eyes! for the chief of men: let tears gush forth; and when they run dry then pour forth blood!
If Greatness had caused any to survive for ever amongst Mankind, then Greatness had preserved Mutim unto this day.
Thou pledgedst protection to the prophet of God from his enemies; and thy servants went forth while he presented himself suppliant at the Holy House, and Sacred Precincts.

Mutim was a Chief descended from Abd Shamist the brother of Hashim (great grandfather of Mahomet;) and along with Harb son of Ossia, commanded his tribe in one of the great battles in the Sacrilegious War, 586 A. D., *C. de Perceval*, I. 309.

† Sawda, (a cousin of her husband Sakrân, belonged to the distant branch of Amir ibn Lowey, which separated from the Hâshimite stem at the 7th remove from Mahomet. *Ibn Coteiba.*

Sprenger says she had a son by Sakrân, but if so, he did not survive, for Ibn Coteiba says that Sakrân left no issue.

Supposing Khadîja to have died in December, 619 A. D., Mahomet's nuptials with Sawda may have taken place in February or the beginning of March, 620.

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About the same time he contracted a second marriage with Ayesha, the younger daughter of Abu Bakr :—a connection mainly designed to cement the attachment with his bosom-friend. The yet undeveloped charms of Ayesha could hardly have swayed the heart of Mahomet. Though her betrothed husband had reached fifty, she was now a child of only *six* years of age. Still there may have been something more than ordinarily precocious and interesting about her, for the real marriage took place not more than three years afterwards.

There is no information as to the terms on which Mahomet continued with the family of his deceased wife, Khadîja ; and whether he retained any part of the property that belonged to her. During the few troublous years that had passed of his mission, and especially under the ban, it is probable that her wealth had much diminished. Perhaps it was shared with the poorer brethren. It is certain that during his remaining stay at Mecca, the Prophet had not much property at his disposal ; and there are even indications (as we shall see below,) that he was straitened in his means. He appears still to have continued to live, at least occasionally, in the quarter, if not in the house, of Abu Talib.*

Repulsed from Tâyif, and utterly hopeless of farther success at Mecca, the fortune of Mahomet was now enveloped in the thickest gloom, when hope suddenly dawned from an unexpected quarter.

The season of pilgrimage was at hand, [March, 620 A. D. ;] and as his custom was, the Prophet plied his solicitations wherever the crowds of pilgrims afforded a likely audience. The ceremonies were nearly at an end ; Mahomet had followed the pilgrims to the hill of Arafat, and now back again to Minâ, whence, after sacrificing their victims, the multitude would disperse to their homes. Wandering over the valley, he was attracted by a little group of six or seven persons, whom he recognized as strangers from Medîna. "*Of what tribe are ye?*" said he, coming up and kindly accosting them,—"Of the tribe of Khazraj." "*Ah! confederates of the Jews?*"—"We are."—"*Then, why should we not sit down a little, and I will speak with you?*" The offer was accepted willingly, for the fame of Mahomet had been noised abroad in Medîna, and the strangers were curious to see more of the man who had created so great an excitement in Mecca. Then he expounded to them his doctrine, set forth

* Thus at the Mirâj or heavenly journey, Mahomet is said to have slept during the night in Abu Tâlib's house. *Hishâmi, p.* 129,—*Wâckidi, p.* 41.

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the difficulties of his position at home, and enquired whether they would receive and protect him at Medina. The listeners were not slow to embrace the faith of Islâm : "but as for protecting thee," said they, "we have hitherto been at variance among ourselves, and have fought great battles, as that of Boâth. If thou comest to us thus, we shall be unable to rally around thee. Let us, we pray thee, return unto our people, if haply the Lord will create peace amongst us ; and we will come back again unto thee. Let the season of pilgrimage in the following year, be the appointed time." So they returned to their homes, and invited their people to the faith ; and many believed, and there remained hardly a family in Medîna, in which mention was not made of the prophet.*

This success at Medîna, though unexpected, was not without perceptible causes. Numerous and powerful Jewish tribes were settled in the city or its immediate vicinity, and (as we have seen in a former paper) divided their adherence between the two contending factions of the Aws and Khazraj, whose strife frequently stained with blood the city and its environs. "When the Jews used thus to fight with the idolaters of Medîna,"—relates Ibn Ishâc with much simplicity,—"they would say ;—'*A prophet is about to arise : his time draweth nigh. Him* '*shall we follow ; and then we shall slaughter you with the* '*slaughter of Ad, and Irem.* So when Mahomet addressed 'the pilgrims of Medîna at Minâ, they spake one with ano-'ther,—*Know surely that this is the same Prophet, whom the* '*Jews are wont to threaten us with. Wherefore let us make* '*haste and be the first to join him.*"† There is truth, though exaggerated and distorted, in this statement. In the close and constant intercourse between the Jews and the Arabs of Medîna, the expectation of a Messiah, ingrained throughout the life and conversation of the former, could not but in some measure be borrowed by the latter. Nor could the idolatrous inhabitants live in daily contact with a race professing the pure Theism, and practising the stern morality of the Old Testament, without being influenced by the practical appeal thus continually made against the errors of Paganism, as contrasted

* The words of tradition have been almost literally followed. *Wâckidi, p.* 41½,—*Hishâmi*, 142,—*Tabari*, 160. Wâckidi mentions *six* as composing the company, and in another place *eight*. It is impossible satisfactorily to reconcile the names, *See Sprenger, p.* 202. In one tradition it is said that the Prophet first met and spoke with *two* persons from Medîna, not on the occasion of the *yearly*, but of the "Little" or *personal* pilgrimage (*Omrâ.*) It seems, however, more likely, from Mahomet's *being at Minâ* when he met the Converts, that it was the *annual* pilgrimage.

† *Hishâmi, p.* 143,—*Tabari, p.* 161.

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with the spiritual worship of the one true God. Moreover, Medîna was only half so distant as Mecca from the Christian tribes of southern Syria ; the poet Hassân, and men of his stamp from Medîna, used to frequent the Christian Court of the Ghassânide King ; so that Christianity as well as Judâism, may have had an effect on the social position of Medîna, more than was ordinary in Arabia.

The city had been long torn by internal war. The sanguinary conflict of Boâth, a few years before, had weakened and humiliated the Khazraj, without materially strengthening the Aws. Assassination had succeeded open fighting. There was none bold or commanding enough to seize the reins of Government ; and the citizens, Arab and Jewish, lived in suspense and uncertainty. Little apprehension would be felt from the advent of a stranger, even although he was likely to usurp, or gain permission to assume, the vacant authority. Deadly jealousy at home, had extinguished the jealousy of influence from abroad.

Such was the position of Medîna. A tribe addicted to the superstition of Mecca, yet well acquainted with a purer faith, was in the best preparation to join itself to a reformer of the Kaaba worship. An Arab idolater, with indefinite anticipations of a Messiah, would readily recognize Mahomet as his Prophet. A city wearied with faction and strife, would cheerfully admit him as a refugee, if not welcome him as a ruler.

The politics of Mecca, and the history of the Prophet, were not unknown at Medîna. The Syrian Caravans of the Coreish used to rest there ; there was occasional intermarriage between the two cities. Mahomet himself was descended from a distinguished lady of Khazraj birth, espoused by Hâshim ; and the interest of that tribe at least, was thus secured. Abu Cays, a famous Poet of Medîna, had, some time before, addressed the Coreish in verses intended to dissuade them from interference with Mahomet and his followers.* The Jews were already

* *Hishâmi p. 75, Caussin de Perceval, I.* 368. There is no apparent reason for doubting the authenticity of these verses The following is one of them :—

ولي امرفا ختار دينا فلا يكن * عليكم رقيبا غير رب الثوقب *

"One who is his own master, hath chosen a (new) religion, and there is none other keeper over you than the Lord of the Heavens."

Abu Cays had a Coreishite wife, and had lived some time at Mecca When Islâm began to spread at Medîna., his adverse influence held back his own tribe (the Aws Monât, or Aws Allah,) from joining it. *Hishâmi p*, 147,—*C de Perceval, III., p.* 5. He commanded the Awsites at the battle of Boâth, *C. de Perceval, II.*, 680.

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acquainted with the Prophet as a zealous supporter of their Scriptures. Parties from Medîna went up yearly to the solemnities of the Meccan Temple. A few had thus come under the direct influence of his preaching,* and all were familiar with the general nature of his claims. To this was now superadded the advocacy of actual converts.†

This year was to Mahomet one of anxiety and expectation. Would the handful of Medîna converts remain steady to his cause? Would they be able to extend that cause among their fellow-citizens? If they should prove unfaithful, or fail of success, what resource would then remain? He might be forced to emigrate to Syria or to Abyssinia, and seek refuge with the Najashy, or amongst the Christian tribes of the northern desert.

At last the days of pilgrimage again came round, and Mahomet sought the appointed spot in a sheltered glen near Minâ. His apprehensions were at once dispelled: for there he found

* The traditions regarding certain Jews coming to Mahomet when at Mecca, with questions to prove him, appear to be apocryphal. Yet there can be no doubt, from Mahomet's familiarity with Jewish history, as shown in the Coran, that there was a close relation between Mahomet and some Professors of the Jewish religion before the Hegira: and the Jews of Medîna are the likeliest.

† There are indeed notices of actual conversion to Islâm, among the citizens of Medîna, at an *earlier* period, but they are not well substantiated.

Thus, before the battle of Boâth, a deputation from the Bani Aws is said to have visited Mecca, to seek for auxiliaries from among the Coreish in the coming struggle; and they listened to Mahomet: and *Ayâs*, a youth of their number, declared that this was far better than the errand they had come upon; but Abul Haysar their Chief cast dust upon him, saying, they had another business than to hear these things. Ayâs, who was killed shortly after in the intestine struggles at Medîna, is said to have died a true Mussulman. *Hishâmi, p.* 142,—*Tabari, p.* 159.

Similarly *Suweid*, Son of Sâmit, an Awsite Poet, came and repeated to Mahomet the Persian tale of Locmân. Mahomet, saying that he had something better than that, recited the Coran to him. And the Poet was delighted with it, "and he was not far from Islâm, and some said that he died a Moslem." *Hishâmi. p.* 141,—*Tabari. p.* 158.

Anticipations of Islâm are supplied by tradition for Medîna as well as for Mecca. Thus; "The first that believed were Asád ibn Zorâra and Dzakwan, who set out for Mecca to contend in rivalry with Otba son of Rabia. But on their arrival, Otba said to them,—*That praying fellow who fancieth himself to be the Prophet of God, hath occupied us to the exclusion of every other business.* Now Asád and Abul Haytham used to converse at Medîna with each other, about the unity of God. When Dzakwan, therefore, heard this saying of Otba, he exclaimed,—*Listen, oh! Asád; this must be thy religion.* So they went straight to Mahomet, who expounded to them Islâm, and they both believed and returned to Medîna. And Asád related to Abul Haytham all that had passed, and he said "*I too, am a believer, with thee.*" *Wackidi, p.* 41½. Sprenger adopts this version as the true one, it corresponding with his theory of the pre-existence of Islâm before Mahomet.

It is admitted on all hands that Asád and Abul Haytham were forward, and early, in the movement at Medîna.

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a band of twelve faithful disciples ready to acknowledge him as their prophet. Ten were of the Khazraj, and two of the Aws, tribe.* They plighted themselves thus to Mahomet: *We will not worship any but the One God; we will not steal, neither will we commit adultery; we will not slander in anywise; and we will not disobey the Prophet,† in anything that is right.* This was afterwards called the "Pledge of Women,"‡ because, as not embracing any stipulation to *defend* the Prophet, it was the only oath required from females. When all had taken this engagement, Mahomet replied;—*If ye fulfil your pledge, Paradise shall be your reward: he that shall fail in any part thereof, to God belongeth his concern, either to punish or forgive.* This memorable proceeding is known in the annals of Islám as THE FIRST PLEDGE OF ACABA,§ that being the name of the little eminence or defile whither they retired from observation.

These twelve men were now committed to the cause of Mahomet. They returned to Medîna the Missionaries of Islâm, again to report their success at the following pilgrimage. So prepared was the ground, so zealous the propagation, that the new faith spread rapidly from house to house and from tribe to tribe. The Jews looked on in amazement, while the people, whom they had in vain endeavoured for generations to teach the errors of Polytheism and to dissuade from the abominations of Idolatry, suddenly, and of their own accord, began to cast their idols to the bats, and to profess their belief in the One true God. The secret lay in the adaptation of the instrument. Judaism, foreign in its growth, touched few Arab sympathies: while Islâm, grafted upon the faith, the superstition, the customs, the nationality of the Peninsula, found ready access to every heart.

The leaders in the movement soon found themselves unable to keep pace with its rapid progress. So they wrote to Mahomet for a teacher, well versed in the Coran, who might initiate the enquirers in the rudiments of the new Faith. The youthful and devoted Musáb, who had lately returned from exile in

* We approach now to certain ground. There is no doubt or discrepancy whatever regarding the names of these twelve persons. *Wâckidi, p. 42,—Hishâmi, p.* 143.

† *Literally* "him."

‡ بيعه النساء

§ بيعه العقبه الاولى

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Abyssinia, was deputed for that purpose.* He lodged with Asád ibn Zorâra, who used to gather the converts together to him for prayer and the reading of the Coran. The combined devotions of the Aws and Khazraj, they say, were first conducted by Musáb, for even in such a matter they were impatient of a common leader from amongst themselves.† Thus speedily, without let or hindrance, did Islâm take firm root at Medîna, and attain to a full and mature growth.‡

The hopes and expectations of Mahomet were now fixed upon Medîna. Visions of his journey northwards flitted before his imagination. The musings of the day re-appeared in mid-

* *Wâckidi*, p. 42,—*Hishâmi*, p. 144,—*Tabari*, p. 169. According to Hishâmi, Mahomet sent Musáb back *with the twelve*, after the first pledge of Acaba. The statement of Wâckidi is clear, as in the text, that he was sent upon a written requisition from Medîna.

Musáb will be remembered as the youth, whose pathetic interview with his mother has been described in a former paper.—*Extension of Islâm*, p. 13.

† *Hishâmi, ibid.* The call to Mahomet for a teacher is stated by Wâckidi to have been made in common both by the Aws and Khazráj. Hishâmi mentions a *Friday* service, the first at Medîna, held at the instance of Asád, and attended by forty men ; but it looks anticipative and apocryphal.

‡ The following narrative, though probably fabricated in many of its details, will illustrate at any rate the manner in which Islâm was propagated at Medîna.

"Asád and Musáb on a certain day went to the quarters of the Awsites, and entering one of their gardens, sat down by a well, when a company of believers gathered around them. Now Sád ibn Muâdz and Oseid ibn Khuzeir were chief men of the *Abdal Ashal* (an Awsite branch); and they were both idolaters following the old religion. So when they heard of the gathering at the well, Sád, who was unwilling himself to interfere (being related to Asâd,) bade his comrade go and disperse them. Oseid seized his arms, and hurrying to the spot, began to abuse them :—*What brings you two men here amongst us, to mislead our youths, and silly folk? Begone, if ye have any care for your lives.* Musâb disarmed his wrath by courteously inviting him to sit down and listen to the doctrine. So he stuck his spear into the ground and seated himself ; and as he listened, he was charmed with the new faith, and he purified himself and embraced Islâm. And he said "there is another beside me, even Sád ibn Muâdz, whom I will send to you : if you can gain him over, there will not be one in his tribe left unconverted." So he sent Sád, and Musâb persuaded him in like manner. And Sád returned to his tribe and swore that he would not speak to man or woman that did not acknowledge Mahomet :—and so great was his influence, that by the evening *every one of the tribe was converted.*

"Such were the exertions of Asâd and Musâb that there remained not a house among the Arabs of Medîna in which there were not believing men and women, excepting the branches of the *Aws Allah*, who, owing to the influence of Abu Cays the poet, continued unbelievers, till after the siege of Medîna." *Hishâmi*, p. 146,—*Tabari*, p. 165.

There is a story of Amr ibn al Jamoh, who like the other chiefs of Medîna, had an image in his house. This image the young converts used to cast every night into a filthy well, and the old man as regularly cleansed ; till one day, they tied it to a dead dog and cast it into a well. Then the old man abandoned his image and believed.—*Hishâmi*, p. 153.

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night slumbers. He dreamed that he was swiftly carried by Gabriel on a winged steed past Medîna to the temple at Jerusalem, where he was welcomed by all the former Prophets assembled in solemn conclave. His excited spirit conjured up a still more transcendant scene. From Jerusalem he seemed to mount upwards, and ascend from Heaven to Heaven, till he found himself in the awful presence of his Maker, who dismissed him with the behest that his people were to pray five times in the day. When he awoke in the morning in the house of Abu Tâlib, where he had passed the night, the vision was vividly before his eyes, and he exclaimed to Omm Hâni, the daughter of Abu Tâlib, that during the night he had been praying in the Temple of Jerusalem. As he was going forth to tell the vision to others, she seized him by the mantle, and conjured him not thus to expose himself to the mockery and revilings of the unbelievers. But he persisted. As the story spread abroad, the idolaters scoffed, the believers were staggered, and some are said even to have gone back.* Abu Bakr supported the Prophet, declaring his implicit belief in the Vision†, and in the end the credit of Islâm suffered no material injury among its adherents.

The tale is one in which tradition revels with congenial ecstasy. The rein has been given loose to a pious imagination. Both the journey, and the ascent to Heaven, are decked out in the most extravagant colouring of Romance, and in all the gorgeous drapery that Fancy could conceive.‡

* This, though stated both by Wâckidi and Hishâmi, appears improbable; and no names are specified. The words in Wâckidi are—"upon this many went back, who had prayed and joined Islâm," p. 41. *Hishâmi, p.* 127. But the whole story is one of those marvellous subjects upon which tradition, when it touches, runs wild, and anything is thrown in which adds to the effect.

† He said, *Sadacta*, "thou hast spoken the truth;" and hence according to some traditions, was called *Al Sadîch*. He appears, however, to have had this name, as Mahomet that of *Al Amîn*, from his probity and truthfulness.

‡ What is here stated is all that historical criticism warrants us in attributing to Mahomet himself. It is *possible* that in later life he may have gratified the morbid curiosity of his followers, by adding imaginary details to the Vision. But even this supposition is limited by the known reserve and taciturpity of the Prophet.

It is said that incredulous idolaters wished to throw him into confusion by asking for a *description* of the Temple he had thus been to see: and he was in great straits, until Gabriel placed before him a *model* of the Temple, and he was able then satisfactorily to answer all their questioning. But this is only of a piece with the other childish stories of the occasion. Thus Mahomet replied to his questioners that on his way to Jerusalem, he had passed over a caravan from Syria, that the whizzing noise of Borâc, the flying steed, had frightened away one of the camels, and that the people of the caravan could not find it till he pointed it out to them. So on his way back, he passed another caravan, in the encampment of which was a covered vessel filled with water: as he passed he drank up the

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But the only mention in the Coran of this notable Vision, is contained in the XVII. Sura, which opens thus:—

Praise be to Him who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Temple, to the farther temple,* the environs of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs. Verily He it is that heareth and seeth.†

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water and restored the cover. And both caravans on arriving at Mecca confirmed the evidence! *Hishâmi, p.* 130.

Sprenger considers Mahomet here to have committed "an unblushing forgery: he sold a description of the Temple of Jerusalem, which he may have obtained from books or oral information, to the best advantage." We would rather look upon the tradition of the model in the same light as the two last foolish stories, equally worthless and fabricated. Sprenger holds by the respectability of the authorities: there is no event of his life, he says, "on which we have more numerous and genuine traditions than on his nightly journey." But on a supernatural and imaginary subject, *numerous* traditions forming around some early common type, were to be expected, and their number can add little if any thing to the historical value of their contents.

The earliest authorities point only to a vision, not to a real bodily journey. Sprenger seems to be in error when he says that "*all historical records are for the latter opinion*" (i. e. a bodily journey:) "*the former*" (that it was a mere Vision) "*is upheld by some Sceptics only,*" *p.* 136. I. In opposition to this, we have the story of Omm Hâni, as in the text, given both by Wâckidi (p. 41) and Hishâmi (p. 129,) II. Cutâda and Ayesha are quoted as holding that "the Prophet's body did not disappear, but that God carried him away by night *in the spirit.*" *Hishâmi, ibid.* III. Hasan applies the verse in the Coran (Sura XVII., 61.) regarding "*the Vision*" correctly to this heavenly journey, and Muâvia farther illustrates it by the *Vision* in which Abraham appeared to himself to be sacrificing his son. Others make the Vision in the verse referred to, to mean the model of the Temple held by Gabriel before Mahomet! *Wâckidi, p.* 41. IV. Hishâmi draws the conclusion that whichever of the two views be accepted, "the vision at any rate was true and faithful." Tradition cannot therefore be said to be adverse to the theory that it was a simple Vision.

After his visit to Heaven, Mahomet is said to have consoled his faithful Zeid by telling him how beautiful and happy he saw his little daughter in Paradise! *Hishâmi, p.* 153.

Most authors agree that the *Ascent to Heaven* (MIRAJ) occurred the same night as the journey to Jerusalem (ISRA:) but Wâckidi, who is more credulous and less critical than Ibn Ishâc and Hishâmi in this instance, makes the former to have happened on the 17th Ramadhân, a year and a half before Mahomet's flight to Medîna; and the latter on the 17th Rabî I., six months later, *p.* 40.

* من المسجد الحرام الي المسجد الاقصى

† A farther allusion to the Journey is supposed to be contained in v. 61 of the same Sura.

"And (call to mind) when we said unto Thee, *verily thy Lord hedgeth in mankind;* and we made not the Vision which we showed unto Thee other than a trial unto the people, and likewise the accursed Tree in the Coran: and we (seek to) strike terror into them, but it only increaseth in them enormous wickedness."

This is quoted by traditionists as bearing out (but seemingly on insufficient grounds,) the falling away of those believers who were scandalized by the Vision. A pious gloss in Hishâmi goes still farther, for it says that had the journey been a mere Vision, nobody would have been scandalized; but scandal having been raised, and believers having gone back, therefore the journey was a real and a corporeal one! *Hishâmi, p.* 128.

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The political events in the North had long engaged the attention of Mahomet; his interest now quickened by the prospect of approaching so much nearer to the scene of action. Almost from the period at which he had assumed the prophetical office, the victorious arms of Chosroes had been turned against the Grecian border. The desert tract, with its Arab Christian tribes, that used to oscillate between one dominion and the other according to the fortune of war, fell first into the hands of Persia: the enemy ravaged the whole of Syria; Jerusalem was sacked; Egypt and Asia Minor overrun; an army advanced upon the Thracian Bosphorus, "and a Persian Camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople."* In 621 A. D., when the fortunes of the Grecian empire were at the lowest ebb, Heraclius was roused from inaction, and after several years of fighting, rolled back the invasion and totally discomfited the Persians.

In this struggle the sympathies and hopes of Mahomet were all enlisted on the side of the Cæsar. Christianity was a Divine Faith that might coalesce with Islâm: but the Fire worship and superstitions of Persia were utterly repugnant to its principles. It was while the career of Persian conquest was yet unchecked, that Mahomet, in the opening of the XXXth. Sura, uttered the following augury of the eventual issue of the conflict:—

The Greeks have been conquered
In the neighbouring coast; but, after their defeat, they shall again be victorious
In a few years. To God belongeth the matter from before, and after: and in that day, the be-
lievers shall rejoice
In the aid of God. He aideth whom he chooseth: and He is the Glorious, the Merciful.
It is the Promise of God. God changeth not His promise; but the greater part of Mankind
know it not.†

There was now a lull at Mecca. Mahomet despaired that by the simple influence of preaching and persuasion, any farther progress could be effected there. His eye was fixed upon Medina, and he waited in quietness until succour should come from thence. At home, meanwhile, offensive measures were abandoned. Islâm was no longer aggressive; and the Coreish, congratulating themselves that their enemy had tried his worst,

* *Gibbon's decline and fall.* Ch. XLVI.

† The commentators add a very convenient story in illustration. Abu Bakr, on the passage being revealed, laid a wager of 10 camels with Obba Ibn Khalf, that the Persians would be beaten within *three* years. Mahomet desired him to extend the period to *nine* years and to raise the stake. This Abu Bakr did, and in due time won 100 camels from Obba's heirs.

But the story is apocryphal. It is neither in Wâckidi nor Hishâmi; and bears the most suspicious stamp of being a late fabrication in illustration of the passage in the Coran.

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and now was harmless, relaxed their vigilance and opposition. For this course Mahomet had, as usual, divine authority ;—

Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord: there is no God but He: and [retire from the Idolaters.
If God had wished they had not followed Idolatry: and we have not made thee a keeper over [them, neither art thou unto them a Guardian.
And revile not those that they invoke besides God, lest they revile God in enmity from lack [of knowledge
Thus have we adorned for every Nation their work, then unto the Lord
Shall be their return, and He shall declare unto them that which they have wrought.* Sura VI, [106-108.

But with this cessation of aggressive measures, there was no wavering of principle, nor any distrust of eventual success. A calm and lofty front was maintained, of superiority, if not of defiance. Eventual success, in spite of present discouragement, was clear and assured. The Lord had given to *all* his Apostles of old the Victory, and he would give the same to Mahomet ;—

We shall hurl THE TRUTH against that which is false, and it shall shiver it, and Lo! that which is [False shall vanish; Wo unto you for that which ye imagine;

* * * *

Vengeance shall fall suddenly upon them: it shall confound them: they shall not be able to op- [pose the same, nor shall they be respited.
Verily, Apostles before thee have been mocked; but they that laughed them to scorn were encom- [passed by the Vengeance they mocked at.

* * * *

The unbelieving (Nations) said unto their Apostles, *We will surely expel you from our Land,* [*or ye shall return to our Religion.* And their Lord re- [vealed unto them, *Verily We shall destroy the Unjust;*
And We shall cause you to inherit the Land after them: this for him that feareth My [*appearing, and feareth My threatening.*
So they asked assistance of the Lord, and every Tyrant and rebellious one was destroyed.

* * * *

Verily, they have devised evil devices; but their devices are in the hand of God, even if [their devices could cause the Mountains to pass away.
Wherefore do not thou think that God will work at variance with His promise that he made unto [His Apostles: verily the Lord is Mighty, and a God of Vengeance.†

A dearth fell upon Mecca: it was a punishment sent from God upon the citizens because of their rejection of His Messenger. Relief was vouchsafed, but it was meant to try whether the goodness of God would not lead to repentance; if they still hardened their hearts, a more fearful fate was denounced. ‡

* The opposite party begins to be termed "the confederates,"—حزاب |S. XI., v.18. So in the same Sura v. 25, "the likeness of *the two parties* الفريقين | is as the Blind and Deaf, compared with him that hath both Sight and Hearing: what! are these equal in similitude? Ah! do ye not comprehend?"

† Sura XXI., vv. 18,41,42. XIV., 14,46,47. Cnf. also Sura XLIII., 77-79. The *whole tenor* of the Coran at this period is indeed that of quiet but confident defiance.

‡ There is no satisfactory statement regarding this visitation in reliable tradition. The *commentators* have, of course, invented details to illustrate the notices of it, which occur in the Coran. Yet those notices are so clear and distinct as to admit of no doubt that *some* affliction of the kind did occur, which was attributed by Mahomet to the Divine Vengeance ;—

And if We have mercy upon them and withdraw the affliction that befel them, they plunge unto [their Wickedness, wildly wandering.
And verily We visited them with Affliction, and they humbled not themselves before their Lord, [nor made Supplication;—
Until when we open unto them a Door of severe Punishment, Lo! they are in despair thereat. [*Sura XXIII.*, 77-79.

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That ten-fold vengeance would overtake the people if they continued to reject the truth, Mahomet surely believed. *He* might not live to see it; but the decree of God was unchangeable:—

What! Canst *thou* make the Deaf to hear, or guide the Blind, or him that is wandering widely?
Wherefore, whether we take thee away, verily We will pour our vengeance upon them,
Or, whether We cause thee to see that which We have threatened them with, verily We are all-[powerful over them.
Therefore hold fast that which hath been revealed unto thee, for thou art in the straight path.†

Mahomet, thus holding his people at bay, waiting in the still expectation of victory; to outward appearance defenceless, and with his little hand in the lion's mouth; yet, trusting in His almighty power whose Messenger he believed himself to be, resolute and unmoved;—presents a spectacle of sublimity paralleled only in the Sacred Records, amongst such as the Prophet of Israel who complained to his Master, "I, even I only, am left." Nay, the spectacle is in one point of view *more* marvellous; because the Prophets of old were upheld by a divine inspiration, accompanied (as we may conclude) by an unwavering consciousness thereof, and strengthened by the palpable demonstrations of miraculous power; while with the Arabian Prophet, the memory at least of former doubt, and the confessed inability to work any miracle, must ever and anon have caused a gleam of uncertainty to shoot across the soul. But this only throws out in bolder prominence the amazing self-possession, the enduring enthusiasm which sustained his course.

Say unto the Unbelievers;—*Work ye in your place, we also are working. Wait ye in ex-*[*pectation; we, too, are waiting in expectancy*. Sura XI. 121.

His bearing towards his own followers, no less than his opponents, exhibits the full assurance of being the Vicegerent of

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The *latter* punishment referred to in this passage the commentators will have to be the battle of Badr; but that of course is an anachronism. Again:—

And when We made the People to taste Mercy, after the affliction that befel them, Lo! they [devise deceit against our Signs. SAY, God is more swift than ye in [deceit: Verily Our Messengers write down that which ye devise.
It is He that causeth you to travel by Land and by Water, so that when ye are in Ships, and [sail in them with a pleasant breeze, they rejoice thereat.
A fierce Storm overtaketh them, and the Waves come upon them from every quarter, and they [think that verily they are closed in thereby; then they call upon God, rendering unto Him [pure Service, and saying, *If Thou savest us from this, we shall verily be amongst the* [*Grateful.*
But when He hath saved them, behold! they work evil in the Earth unrighteously. Oh ye People, [verily your evil working is against your own Souls, &c.
Sura X., 22-24, *Cnf. S. VII.*, 95.

* Sura XLIII., 38-41. There are various other passages in the Suras of this period to the same effect. Thus: "Wherefore persevere patiently, for the promise of God is truth, whether we cause thee to see some part of that wherewith we have threatened them, or cause thee (first) to die; and unto Us shall they return, &c. Sura XL., 78. Compare also Suras XXIII., 95; X., 46; XXIX., 53; XXXVII., 178; XIII., 42.

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God. Obedience to *God and his Apostle*, is now the watch-word of Islâm :—

Whosoever disobeyeth GOD AND HIS PROPHET, verily to him shall be the Fire of Hell; they shall [alway be therein,—for ever!*

The confidence in his inspiration is sometimes expressed with imprecations, which one cannot read without a shudder :—

(I swear) by that which ye see,
And by that which ye do not see!
That this is verily the speech of an honourable Apostle!
It is not the speech of a Poet; little is it ye believe!
And it is not the speech of a Soothsayer; little is it ye reflect!
A Revelation from the Lord of Creation.
And if he (Mahomet,) had fabricated concerning us any sayings,
Verily We had caught him by the right hand,
Then had we severed the artery of his neck,
Nor would there have been amongst you any to hinder therefrom.†
But verily it is an Admonition to the Pious,
And truly We know that there are amongst you who belie the same:
But it shall cause Sighing unto the Unbelievers.
And it is the TRUTH :—the CERTAIN!
Therefore praise the name of thy Lord,—the GLORIOUS!

Sura LXIX., v. 38-52.

It would seem as if the difficulties of the prophet were at this period increased by straitened means. Though supported probably by help from his relatives and followers, there was yet ground for care and anxiety. The Divine promise re-assures him in such terms as these :—

And stretch not forth thine eyes to the Provision we have made for divers among them,—the show of this present life,—that We may prove them thereby; and the Provision of the Lord is better and more lasting.
And command thy Family to observe Prayer, and to persevere therein; We ask thee not (to labour) for a Provision; We shall provide for thee, and a successful issue shall be to Piety.

Sura XX, 130-131.

Thus another year passed away in comparative tranquillity, and the month of Pilgrimage, (March 662 A. D.,) when the Medîna converts were again to rally around their prophet,

* Sura LXXII., 23. The sequel of this passage is singular. God sends a guard to attend his prophet in order that he may see that the message is duly delivered, as if God had reason to doubt the fidelity of his prophet in this respect :—

When they see that with which they were threatened, then they shall know which side was the [weakest in succour, and the fewest in number.
SAY, I know not whether that which ye are threatened with be near, or whether my Lord shall [make for it a limit of time.
He knoweth the secret thing, and he unveileth not His Secret unto any,
Excepting unto such of His Apostles as pleaseth him, and He maketh a Guard to go before and [behind him (*i. e.* His Apostle,)
That He may know that they verily deliver the messages of their Lord.
He encompasseth whatever is beside them,
And counteth everything by number.

In farther illustration of the text see Sura LXIV :—

Wherefore believe in GOD AND HIS APOSTLE, and the Light which We have sent down, &c. [verse 9.
And *obey God and obey the Apostle*; but if ye turn back, verily our Apostle hath only to deliver [his message, *v.* 13.

Thenceforward the expression becomes common.

† The commentators observe that the allusion is to the Oriental mode of execution. The condemned culprit is seized by the executioner by the right hand, while with a sharp sword or axe a blow is aimed at the back of the neck, and the head detached at the first stroke. This mode of execution is still practised by Mahometan states in India.

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arrived. Written accounts, as well as messages, of the amazing success of Islâm had no doubt reached Mahomet,* yet he was hardly prepared for the large and enthusiastic band ready to crowd to his standard, and swear allegiance to him as their prophet and their master. But it was necessary to proceed with caution. The Coreish, if aware of this extensive and hostile confederacy,—hostile because pledged to support (though only as yet defensively,) a faction in their community,—would have good ground for umbrage; the sword might prematurely be unsheathed, and the cause of Islâm seriously endangered. The movements were, therefore, all conducted with the utmost secrecy. Even the pilgrims from Medîna, in whose company the converts travelled, were unaware of their object.†

Musáb, the teacher, who also joined the pilgrimage to Mecca, immediately on his arrival repaired to Mahomet, and related all that had happened during his absence at Medîna. The prophet, when he heard of the numbers of the converts, and their eagerness in the service of Islâm, rejoiced greatly.‡

To elude the scrutiny of the Meccans, the meeting between Mahomet and his Medîna followers was to be by night; and that the strangers might, in case suspicions were aroused, be for as short a time as possible within reach of their enemies, it was deferred to the very close of the pilgrimage, when, the ceremonies and sacrifices being finished, the multitude on the following day dispersed to their homes.§ The spot was to be

* The converts at Medîna had, as we have seen, *written* to Mahomet early in the year, for a teacher. Both they and the teacher (Musáb,) would no doubt communicate to Mahomet by letter and verbal message, the wonderful success they had met with.

† *Hishâmi, p.* 148,—*Tabari, p.* 169. Sprenger gives the total number of pilgrims from Medîna that year (both heathen and Mussulman) at upwards of 570; of whom seventy only were of the Aws tribe, and the remainder Khazrajites.

‡ *Wâckidi, p.* 201½. It was immediately after this that the affecting scene occurred, when Musáb went to visit his mother.—"*Extension of Islâm.*" p. 13.

§ This appears to be the likeliest date, as the events following seem to prove that the next day the multitudes broke up, and the Medîna party proceeded homewards. The date would thus be the night of the 11th Dzul Hijj, or that intervening between the 31st March and the 1st April, A. D. 622.

The expression in all our three authorities is من اوساط ايام التشريق —in the days of the Tashrîck, *i. e.*, between the 10th and 12th of Dzul Hijj. A tradition in Hishâmi adds that it was after the pilgrimage was ended :— فلما فرغنا من الحج *p.* 147. Wâckidi relates as follows :— ثم وعدهم منا وسط ايام التشريق ليلة النفر الاول اذا هدائت الرجل

"Then Mahomet arranged that they should meet him at Minâ, in the days of the Tashrîck, *on the first night of departure* (?) when men had fallen asleep." *p.* 42½. (The exact meaning of the words in Italics is not quite clear.)

For the ceremonies here alluded to see "Ante-Mahomedan History of Arabia," p. 49.

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the secluded glen, where the twelve had before met Mahomet, close by the road as you quit the valley of Minâ, and beneath the well-known eminence of Acaba.* They were to move cautiously thither, when all had retired to rest; "waking not the sleeper,—nor tarrying for the absent."†

One or two hours before midnight, Mahomet repaired to the rendezvous, the first of the party.‡ He was attended only by his uncle Abbâs. To secure the greater secrecy, the assembly was perhaps kept private even from the Moslems of Mecca.§ Abbâs was the wealthiest of the sons of Abd al Muttalib, but he was weak in character, and ordinarily sailed with wind and tide. He was not a convert; but close relationship, and the long community of interest excited by the three years' confinement in the Sheb of Abu Tâlib, rendered him sufficiently reliable on the present occasion.‖

Mahomet had not long to wait. Soon the Medîna converts, singly and by twos and threes, were descried through the moonlight moving stealthily towards the spot.¶ The number amounted to seventy-three men, and two women, and included all the early converts who had before met the prophet there

* It is called "the right hand glen (*Sheb,*) as you descend from Minâ below the height (Acaba,) where the mosque now stands." *Wâckidi, p.* 42§.

فى الشعب الايمن اذا تحدروا من منا باسفل العقه
حيث المسجد اليوم *

As the valley of Minâ descends towards Mecca, the "right hand" means probably that of a person proceeding to Mecca, and therefore points to the *north* side of the valley. See *Burkhardt, pp.* 59—277.

† *Wâckidi, ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Or if they were in the secret they were instructed not to be present, the less to excite suspicion. We may suppose that Mahomet's more intimate friends, Abu Bakr, Zeid, &c., were aware of his intentions. It is remarkable that not even Musâb appears to have come to the rendezvous with his Medîna converts; for it is distinctly said by Wâckidi that "there was no one with Mahomet besides Abbâs."

Hishâmri makes the Medîna converts to have assembled first, and to have waited for Mahomet, who arrived later. p. 148. Tabari, p. 170.

‖ For more particulars of Abbâs, see the "Birth and Childhood of Mahomet, p. 16. Some hold Abbâs to have been a *secret* believer long before the conquest of Mecca: but this is evidently an Abbâsside fiction. His faith was that of *expediency.* He held with the Meccans until Mahomet became too powerful to admit of doubt as to his eventual success; and then he colluded with him, shortly before the attack on Mecca.

The presence of Abbâs at this meeting is supported by traditions in each of our early authorities. Tabari has one to the effect that the Medîna converts recognized him, because he used frequently to pass through their city on his mercantile expeditions to Syria.

¶ As the Meccan month commenced with the new moon, it would, on the 12th of Dzul Hijj, be within two or three days of full moon.

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on the two preceding pilgrimages.* When they were seated, Abbâs, in a low voice, broke the silence by a speech something to the following effect :—

"Ye company of the KHAZRAJ!† This my kinsman dwelleth amongst us in honor and safety. His clan will defend him,—both those that are converts, and those who still adhere to their ancestral faith. But he preferreth to seek protection from *you*. Wherefore, consider well the matter; and count the cost. If ye are resolved, and are able, to defend him,—well. But if ye doubt your ability, at once abandon the design."‡

Then spake Abu Barâ, an aged Chief :—"We have listened to thy words. Our resolution is unshaken. Our lives are at his service. Now, let *him* speak."

Mahomet began, as was his wont, by reciting appropriate passages from the Coran, invited all present to the service of God, dwelt upon the claims and blessings of Islâm, and concluded by saying that he would be content if the strangers pledged themselves to defend him as they did their own wives and children.§ From every quarter the

* There were only eleven of the Aws tribe; the remaining sixty-two being Khazrajites. The two women were Nuseiba, daughter of Káb (several traditions from whom regarding the assembly have been preserved;) and Asmâ, daughter of Amr, whose husband (Hishâmi adds,) two sons, and *sister*, were present with her. This would seem to imply that there were *three* women there. *Hishâmi, p.* 157.

† Hishâmi states that the people of Medîna, both of the Aws and Khazraj tribes, used to be addressed collectively by the Arabs as Khazrajites.

‡ The speech of Abbâs is given in all three of our authorities, but with great variation. Indeed it could not be expected that its purport should have been exactly preserved. It seems certain, however, that it was he who opened the proceedings. The sentiments are those which would naturally be attributed to him; and are appropriate enough, excepting that, both here and in the other addresses, there is an anticipation of the future armed struggle, which could not yet have been foreseen. Thus Abbâs speaks of the people of Medîna incurring by their league with Mahomet the enmity of "all the Arabs, who would discharge themselves against Medîna, like arrows from one bow." And Abbâs ibn Obâda, one of the Medîna converts, tells his brethren that they have "now pledged themselves *to fight all mankind*," (lit. *the red and the white amongst men.*) The last tradition is not in Wâckidi, and possesses little weight.

§ Hishâmi says that Abul Haytham interrupted Barâ in his address, saying that by their present act they were cutting their bonds with their allies the Jews, and asked Mahomet whether, if God gave him the victory, he would not desert them and return to Mecca; whereupon Mahomet smiled graciously and said :—*Nay! your blood is mine, your destruction would be that of my very self. I am yours, ye are mine. I shall fight with whom ye fight, and make peace with whom ye make peace.*

But the sentiment is altogether an after-thought. There was not at that time the slightest suspicion that Mahomet would break with the Jews. One of the first things that Mahomet did on going to Medîna, was to make a close and firm treaty with them.

The fact is that by their present act in joining Mahomet, the Medîna converts were drawing nearer to the Jews, rather than "cutting their bonds with them."

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seventy* began to testify their readiness, and to protest that they would receive him at the risk of the loss of property, and the slaughter of their chiefs. Then Abbâs, who stood by holding his nephew's hand, called aloud :—" Hush !† There are spies about. Let your men of years stand forth, and let them speak on your behalf. We fear our people on account of you. Then when ye have plighted your faith depart to your encampments." And their chief men stood forth. Then said Barâ : " Stretch out thy hand, Oh Mahomet !" And he stretched it out ; and Barâ clapped his hand thereon, as the manner was in taking an oath of fealty.‡ Then the seventy came forward one by one, and did the same.§ And Mahomet named twelve of the chief men and said :—*Moses chose from amongst his people twelve Leaders. Ye shall be the sureties for the rest, even as were the Apostles of Jesus ; and I am the surety for my people.* And all answered ; " Be it so."‖ At this moment the voice of one calling aloud, probably of a

* Though there were seventy-three men, yet by tradition they are ordinarily called " the seventy."

† Literally :—" *Hush your bells.*"

‡ As usual in such meritorious actions, other claimants of the honor are brought forward. The Najjâr say that Asád was the *first* that struck the hand of Mahomet ; and the Abd al Ashal, that it was Abul Haytham. *Hishâmi, p.* 151,—*Wâckidi,* 42½, —*Tabari,* 172.

Abu Bara, who bore so conspicuous a part throughout this transaction, died the next month (*Safar, i. e.* May 622 A. D.) *before* Mahomet reached Medîna. He is said to have been the first over whose grave Mahomet prayed in the formula that became usual afterwards : - *Oh Lord, pardon him ! Be merciful unto him ! Be reconciled unto him ! And verily thou art reconciled.* He is said to have left a third of his property to Mahomet to dispose of as he chose : and to have desired that he should be buried with his face towards the *Meccan* Kibla. The latter tale has reference to a curious fiction that Barâ *anticipated* the divine command, declared a year and a half later, that Mussulmans were to turn in prayer to the Kaaba, and not as hitherto to the Temple at Jerusalem. *Wâckidi, p.* 299.

§ The women, it is said, only repeated the words of the pledge taken by the twelve at the *first* Acaba :—Mahomet never took a woman by the hand on such an occasion ; but they used to come forward, and then Mahomet would say, " Go : for you have pledged yourselves." *Hishâmi, p.* 157.

‖ *Nackib*, or " Leader," is the term, which was ever after honourably retained by the twelve. Four of them, Abul Haytham, Asád, Râfi ibn Mâlik, and Obâda ibn Sâmit, were also of the number who met Mahomet here on the *two* previous pilgrimages. Only *three* were of the Aws tribes, the rest Khazrajites. Several of them, as well as many amongst the seventy, are mentioned as able to *write* Arabic; and as being *Kâmil, i.e.*, expert in that art, in archery and in swimming. *Wâckidi, p.* 285½.

According to Hishâmi, Mahomet desired the seventy *themselves* to choose their Leaders. Wâckidi, on the contrary, not only says that Mahomet chose them, but that he added, " Let no one among you be vexed because another than he is chosen ; for it is Gabriel that chooseth." *p.* 42½. Hishâmi quotes poetry by Kaab (who was himself present on the occasion,) in which the names of the twelve are enumerated ; and it is probably genuine.

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straggler seeking for his company, was heard near at hand; and the excited fancy or apprehensions of the party, conjured up a Meccan, if not an infernal, spy. Mahomet gave the command, and all hurried back to their halting places.*

So large a gathering could not be held close by Minâ, without rumours reaching the Coreish enough to rouse their suspicion. It was notorious that great numbers at Medîna had embraced the doctrines of Mahomet. The clandestine meeting must have been on his behalf, and therefore an unwarrantable interference with the domestic affairs of Mecca. It was virtually a hostile movement. Accordingly next morning their chief men repaired to the encampment of the Medîna pilgrims,† stated their suspicions, and complained of such conduct at the hand of a tribe, with whom, of all others in Arabia, they declared it would grieve them most to be at war. The converts glanced at each other, and held their peace.‡ The rest, ignorant of their

* Both Wâckidi and Hishâmi make the voice to have been that of a Devil or demon.

"And when the ceremony was ended, the Devil called out with a loud voice—*Ye people of Mecca! Have ye no concern for Mahomet and his renegades? They have counselled war against you.*" *Wâckidi, p.* 42½. So Hishâmi:—When we had pledged ourselves to the Prophet, Satan called out with such a piercing cry as I never heard before,—*Oh ye that are encamped round about! Have ye no care for* MUDZAMMAM (the "blamed,"—a nickname for Mahomet,) *and the renegades that are with him? They have resolved upon war with you.* Then said Mahomet;—"This is the demon of Acaba: this is the Son of the Devil. Hearest thou, enemy of God? Verily I will ease myself of thee!" *p.* 151. The word used is *Azabb.*

هذ ا ازب ا لعقبه هذ ا ابن ا زبب

So at Ohad, the party that cried "Mahomet is fallen," is called "the Demon of Acaba, that is to say the Devil;" *Azabb al Acaba yâni al Sheitan. Hishâmi, p.* 258. We shall meet the Devil (who is easily conjured up by tradition,) again at the council of the Coreish to put Mahomet to death, and it will be remembered that he appeared in order to oppose Mahomet at the placing of the corner stone when the Caaba was re-built.

Weil has mistaken the word for Izb or *Azab*, "a Dwarf." *Mohammad, p.* 75.

Both Wâckidi and Hishâmi add that Abbâs son of Obâda said to Mahomet:—"If thou wishest it, we shall now fall upon the people assembled at Minâ with the sword." And no one had a sword that day but he. And Mahomet replied, "I have not received any command to do thus: depart to your homes." But the circumstance is most improbable. We do not believe that any command to fight was given, till long after the emigration to Mecca. Sprenger (p. 207) appears to us at fault here. Hishâmi (p. 157) and Tabari (p. 181) speak of the command to fight, but Wâckidi has nothing of it, and Tabari elsewhere (p. 190) says that the emigration to Medîna *preceded* the command to fight. Indeed armed opposition was not dreamt of till long after. Mahomet and his followers were too glad to escape peaceably.

† Literally the "Sheb," *gleft*, or defile, in which they were encamped.

‡ Hishâmi relates a story told by Káb, one of the covenanters, that while this inquisition was going on, in order to divert attention, he pointed to a pair of new shoes which one of the Meccan Chiefs had on, and said to Abu Jâbir, one of his own party:—"Why could'st not thou, *our* Chief, wear a pair of new shoes like this Coreishite

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comrades' proceedings, protested that the Coreish had been misinformed, and that the report was utterly without foundation. Their chief, Abd allah ibn Obey, assured them that none of his people would venture on such a step without consulting him. The Coreish were satisfied and took their leave.

During that day, the vast concourse at Minâ broke up; the numerous caravans again prepared for their journey, and took each its homeward course. The Medîna party had already set out, when the Coreish having strictly enquired into the mid-night assembly, (which Mahomet hardly cared now to keep a secret) found to their disconcertment, that not only had it really taken place, but that far larger numbers than they suspected, had pledged themselves to the defence of Mahomet. Exasperated at being thus foiled, they pursued the Medîna caravan, if haply they might lay hands on any of the delinquents; but though they scoured the roads leading to Medîna, they fell in with only two. Of these one escaped: the other, Sâd ibn Obâda, they seized, and tying his hands, dragged him by his long hair back to Mecca. There he would no doubt have suffered farther maltreatment, had he not been able to claim protection from certain of the Coreish to whom he had been of service at Medîna. He was released, and joined the caravan, just as his friends were about to return in search of him.

It soon became evident to the Meccans that, in consequence of the covenant entered into at Açaba, both Mahomet and his followers contemplated an early emigration to Medîna. The prospect of such a movement, which would remove their opponents entirely out of reach, and plant them in an asylum where they might securely work out their machinations, and as opportunity offered, take an ample revenge,—at first irritated the Coreish. They revived again, after a long interval, the persecution of the believers, and wherever entirely in their power, sought either to make them recant, or to prevent their escape, by placing them in confinement.*

Chief?" The latter taking off the shoes, threw them at Kâb, saying, "put them on thyself."—Abu Jâbir said, "Quiet.'! give back the shoes." Kâb refused, and the Meccan Chief said he would snatch them from him. A commotion ensued, which was just what Kâb desired, as it covered the awkwardness of the converts. *Hishâmi, p.* 151.

Such tales, containing supposed proofs of service rendered to the cause of Islâm, were plentifully fabricated, even in the earliest time, and deserve little credit.

* *Wâckidi, p.* 43. The support of the Medîna adherents, and suspicion of an *intended* emigration, irritated the Coreish to severity, and this severity forced the

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Such severities, or the dread of them, (for the Moslems were conscious that they had now seriously compromised their allegiance as citizens of Mecca,) hastened the crisis. And, indeed, when Mahomet had once resolved upon a general emigration, no advantage was to be gained by protracting their residence amongst enemies.

It was thus but a few days after the "*second covenant of Acaba,*" that Mahomet gave command to his followers, saying: *Depart unto Medîna; for the Lord hath verily given you brethren in that city, and a home in which ye may find refuge.** So they made preparation, and chose them companions for the journey, and set out in parties secretly. Such as had the means, rode two and two upon camels, and the rest walked.†

Persecution and artifice caused a few to fall away from the faith. One example will suffice. Omar had arranged a rendezvous with Ayâsh and Hishâm at a spot in the environs of Mecca, whence they were to set out for Medîna. Hishâm was held back by his family, and relapsed for a time into idolatry. "Thus I, and Ayâsh," relates Omar, "went forward alone, and journeyed to Cubâ,‡ in the outskirts of Medîna, where we alighted, and were hospitably received at the house of Rifâa. But Abu Jahl, and another brother (uterine,) of Ayâsh,§ fol-

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Moslems to petition Mahomet for leave to emigrate. The two causes might co-exist and re-act on one another; – the persecution would hasten the departure of the converts, while each fresh departure would irritate the Coreish to greater severity.

Tabari says:—"There were two occasions on which persecution raged the hottest; viz., *first*, the period preceding the emigration to Abyssinia; *second*, that following the second covenant at Acaba" (p. 178.)

But there is good reason to suspect that stronger epithets have been used in tradition regarding this persecution than are warranted by facts. Had it been as bad as is spoken of, *we should have had plenty of instances.* Yet, excepting the imprisonment or surveillance of a few waverers, we have not a single detail of any injuries or sufferings inflicted on this occasion by the Coreish. There was, no doubt, abundant *apprehension*, and ground sufficient for it.

* Wâckidi makes Mahomet first to see the place of emigration in a dream,—"a saline soil, with palm trees, between two hills." After that he waited some days, and then went forth joyously to his followers, saying:—"Now have I been made acquainted with the place appointed for your emigration. It is *Yathreb.* Whoso desireth to emigrate, let him emigrate thither." (p. 43.) If this incident be real, the first vision may have been a sort of feeler to try what his people thought of going to Medîna; for long before this time he must have fully made up his mind where he was going. But the story is most probably a fiction, growing out of the idea that Mahomet must have had a divine and special command for so important a step as that of emigration to Medîna.

† *Ibid.*, and page 242.

‡ A suburb of Medîna, about three quarters of an hour's walk on the road to Mecca.—*Burkhardt, p.* 328.

§ Being all three sons of Asmâ, a lady of the Tâmîm tribe, but by different fathers.

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lowed him to Medîna, and told him his mother had vowed that she would retire beneath no shade, nor should a comb or any oil touch her hair, until she saw his face again. Then I cautioned him (continues Omar,) saying;—"By the Lord! they only desire to tempt thee from thy religion.* Beware, Ayâsh, of denying thy faith!" But he replied:—"Nay, I will not recant; but I have property at Mecca; I will go and fetch it, and it will strengthen me: and I will also release my mother from her vow." Seeing that he was not to be diverted from his purpose, I gave him a swift camel, and bade him, if he suspected treachery, to save himself thereon. So when they alighted to halt at Dhajnân, they seized him suddenly, and bound him with cords; and as they carried him into Mecca, they exclaimed: *Even thus, ye Meccans, should ye treat your foolish ones!* Then they kept him in durance."†

It was about the beginning of the month Muharram (19th April, 622 A. D.) that the emigration commenced.‡ Medîna lies some 300 miles to the north of Mecca: the journey is

* In Hishâmi it is added;—"And the heat and lice will soon enough force thy mother to break her vow." (p. 160.)

† *Wâckidi, p.* 232½: *Hishâmi, p.* 160. Both Ayâsh and Hishâm afterwards rejoined Mahomet. From one account it would appear that Ayàsh as well as Hishâm, relapsed into idolatry. Omar stated that until Sora XXXIX., v. 53., was revealed, it was thought that no apostate could be saved. When that passage appeared, he wrote it out for Ayâsh, and sent it to him at Mecca; which when Ayâsh had read he took courage, and forthwith quitted Mecca on his camel for Medîna.—*Hishâmi, p.* 161.

There is another tradition, at variance with the above. Mahomet, when at Medîna, said one day, "who will bring me Ayâsh and Hishâm from Mecca?" And forthwith Walîd, son of Mughîra, set out; and he traced them to their place of confinement, and assisted them with a stone and his sword to break off their fetters, and released them and carried them off to Mahomet. (*Ibidem.*) But notwithstanding the details in this version, it is evidently a fiction to *justify* Ayâsh and Hishâm from the charge of apostacy, by making it appear that they were *imprisoned* at Mecca.

‡ Abu Salma was the first that set out. He reached Medîna on the 10th Muharram (end of April) (*Wâckidi, p.* 225½.) His wife Omm Salma (afterwards married by Mahomet,) tells a piteous story, that they started for Medîna *a year before the second covenant* of Acaba. Being attacked on the way, her husband escaped to Medîna, but she and her infant Salma were kept in durance by her family, the Bani Mughîra. Her infant was taken from her, and she "wept for a year," after which they were all happily re-united at Medîna. She ends by saying;—"there was no family that endured such hardships in the cause of Islam, as that of Abu Salma." (*Hishâmi, p.* 159.) We see here, 1st, the desire of magnifying suffering for Islam: and 2ndly, the vain-glorious wish of appearing to be the *earliest* emigrants. For we know from Wâckidi, that Abu Salma did not emigrate till two months before Mahomet, and several days *after* the second covenant of Acaba.

The next that emigrated was Amir ibn Rabia with his wife Laila. (*Wâckidi, p.* 43½; *Hishâmi, p.* 159.) Then Abdallah ibn Jahsh, and his wife, a daughter of Abu Sofiân.

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accomplished by the pilgrim caravans "in eleven days, and if pressed for time, in ten."* Within two months nearly all the followers of Mahomet, excepting a few detained in confinement, or unable to escape from slavery, had migrated with their families to their new abode. They numbered between one and two hundred souls.† They were received with the most cordial hospitality by their brethren at Medina, who vied with one another for the honour of having them quartered at their houses, and of supplying them with such things as they had need of.‡

The Coreish were paralysed by a movement so suddenly planned, and put into such immediate and extensive execution. They looked on in amazement, as families silently disappeared, and house after house was abandoned. One or two quarters of the city were entirely deserted, and the doors of the dwelling houses deliberately locked.§ There was here a determination and sacrifice hardly calculated upon. But even if the Coreish had foreseen, and resolved to oppose, the emigration, it is difficult to perceive what measures they could have adopted. The multitude of independent clans and separate branches, effectually prevented unity of action. Here and there a slave or helpless dependent might be intimidated or held back; but in all other cases there was no right to interfere with private judgment or with family counsels; and the least show of violence might rouse a host of champions, who would forget their antipathy to Islam, in revenging the insulted honour of their tribe

* *Burkhardt, p. 316.*

† We have no exact enumeration of the numbers that emigrated at first with Mahomet. At the battle of Badr, nineteen months after the emigration, there were present 314 men, of whom eighty-three were emigrants from Mecca. A few of these may have joined Mahomet after he reached Medîna; and we shall probably not err far in making the whole number that emigrated *at first*, including women and children, about 150. At Badr almost every one of the emigrants, who could, was present. For the numbers see *Wâckidi*, p. 295½.

‡ *Hishâmi, p.* 163,—*Wâckidi, p.* 43½.

§ "The Bani Ghanam ibn Dûdân," says Wâckidi, "emigrated entirely to Medîna, men and women, and left their houses locked: not a soul was left in the quarters of the Bani Ghanam, Abul Bokier, and Matzûn."—*pp.* 196 *and* 256½,—*Hishâmi, p.* 160.

"Otba, Abbas, and Abu Jahl passed by the dwelling place of the Bani Jahsh, and the door was locked, and the house deserted. And Abu Jahl sighed heavily, and said, 'every house, even if its peace be lengthened, at the last a bitter wind will reach it. The house of the Bani Jahsh is left without an inhabitant!' Then he added; 'this is the work of my good-for-nothing nephew, who hath dispersed our assemblies, ruined our affairs, and made a separation amongst us.'"—*Hishâmi, p.* 160.

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At last Mahomet and Abu Bakr, with their families, including Ali, now a youth of above twenty years of age, were the only believers left (excepting those unwillingly detained) at Mecca. Daily Abu Bakr pressed the prophet to depart; and he was ambitious of being his companion in the flight. But Mahomet told him that "his time was not come:—the Lord had not yet given him the command to emigrate." Perhaps he was deferring his departure until he could receive assurance from Medîna, that the arrangements for his reception were secure, and his adherents there not only ready, but able, in the face of the rest of the people, to execute their engagement for his defence.* Or, there may have been the more generous desire to see all his followers safely out of Mecca, before he himself fled for refuge to Medîna. Is it possible that he may have waited with some indefinite hope that a divine interposition, as with the prophets of old, might subdue the hostile city, in which peradventure even ten righteous men could not now be found?

Meanwhile Abu Bakr made preparations for the journey. In anticipation, he had already purchased, for 800 dirhems, two swift camels, which were now tied up and well fed in the yard of his house. A guide, accustomed to the devious tracks and by-ways of the Medina route, was hired, and the camels committed to his custody.†

The Coreish were perplexed at the course Mahomet was taking. They had expected him to emigrate with his people; and perhaps half rejoiced at the prospect of being rid of their enemy. By remaining almost solitary behind, he seemed, by his very loneliness, to challenge and defy their attack.

* During the two months elapsing between the second covenant at Acaba and Mahomet's emigration, communications, as might have been expected, were kept up between Mecca and Medîna. Thus, it is stated by Wâckidi, that after the foremost emigrants had reached Medîna, a part of the Medîna converts who had been at the Acaba covenant, returned to Mecca, where no doubt farther arrangements were concerted between them and Mahomet. It is added that these Medîna converts had thus the merit of being both *Emigrants* (muhâjirîn) and *Adjutors* (ansâr.)

† The guide was Abdallah ibn Arcad; or as Wâckidi has it, Abdallah ibn Oreicat. He was of the Bani Duil, a tribe descended from Kinâna; and thus affiliated with the Coreish. His mother was pure Coreish.

He was still an idolater; and Wâckidi, *anticipating the era when war was waged against all idolaters*, adds,—"but Mahomet and Abu Bakr had given him quarter,—or pledge of protection;"— امناه as if he required their protection at that stage! The expression is significant of the way in which subsequent principles and events insensibly threw *back* their light and colour upon the tissue of tradition.—*Wâckidi, p.* 212,—*Hishâmi, p.* 167.

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What might his motive be for this strange procedure? The chief men assembled to discuss their position. Should they imprison him?—his followers would come to his rescue. Should they forcibly expel him?—he might agitate his cause among the tribes of Arabia, and readily lure adherents by the prospect of the supremacy at Mecca. Should they assassinate him?—the Bani Hâshim would exact an unrelenting penalty for the blood of their kinsman. But representatives from all their tribes, including even that of Hâshim, might plunge each his sword into the prophet: would the Hâshimites dare to wage a mortal feud with the whole body of the Coreish thus implicated in the murder? Even then there would remain his followers at Medîna, whose revenge of their master's blood would surely be ruthless and desperate. Assassination by an unknown hand on the road to Medîna, might prove the safest course: but there the chances of escape would preponderate. At last they resolved that a deputation should proceed to the house of Mahomet. What was the decision as to their future course of action, what was the object even of the present deputation, it is impossible, amid the hostile and marvellous tales of tradition, to determine. There is small reason to believe that it was assassination, adopted, as the biographers assert, at the instigation of Abu Jahl, supported by the devil, who, in the person of an old man from Najd, shrouded in a mantle, joined the council. Mahomet himself, speaking in the Coran of the designs of his enemies, refers to them in these indecisive terms:—

And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might detain thee, or slay thee, or expel thee. Yea, they plotted: but God plotted likewise. And God is the best of plotters.—Sura VIII., v. 29.

Assuredly had assassination been resolved upon for immediate execution, as represented by tradition, it would have been indicated by more than these alternative expressions. It would unquestionably have been dwelt upon at length, both in the Coran, and by tradition, and produced as a justification (for such indeed it would have been) of subsequent hostilities.*

* The following is the general narrative of tradition, given with some variations by Wâckidi and Hishâmi,—Tabari following mainly the latter.

The Coreish, irritated by hearing of the warm reception the converts experienced at Medîna, held a council to discuss the matter. The devil, in the shape of an old man, shrouded in a cloak, stood at the door, saying that he was a Sheikh from Najd, who had heard of their weighty consultation, and had come, if haply he might help them to a right decision. So they invited him to enter.

One proposed to imprison, another to expel, Mahomet. The old man from

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Whatever the object of the visit, Mahomet received previous notice, and anticipated danger by stealing at once from his house. There he left Ali; around whom, that the suspicions of his neighbours might not be aroused, he threw his own red Hadhramaut mantle,* and desired him to occupy his bed. He went straight to the house of Abu Bakr, and after a short consultation, matured the plans for immediate flight. Abu Bakr shed tears of joy when it was fixed that the hour for emigration had at last arrived, and that he was to

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Najd warmly opposed both suggestions. Then said Abu Jahl; 'Let us choose one courageous man from every family of the Coreish, and place in their hands sharp swords, and let them slay him with the stroke of one man; so his blood will be divided amongst all families, and the relatives of Mahomet will not know how to revenge it." The old man of Najd applauded the scheme, saying,—"May God reward this man; this is the right advice, and none other." And they separated, having agreed thereto.

Gabriel forthwith apprised Mahomet of the design, who arose and made Ali to lie down upon his bed. The murderous party came at dusk, and lay in wait about the house. Mahomet went forth, and casting a handful of dust at them, recited from the 1st to the 10th verses of Sura XXXIV., ending with the words; *and we have covered them, so that they shall not see.* He departed without their knowing what had passed; and they continued to watch, some say till morning, thinking that the figure on the bed was Mahomet. As light dawned they found out their mistake, and saw that it was Ali. Others say they watched till one passed, and told them that Mahomet had left, when they arose in confusion and shook the dust from their heads which Mahomet had cast upon them.

The whole story of the council and the attempt on Mahomet's life is so mingled with what is marvellous and unlikely, as to render it almost impossible to disentangle the truth, or even a consistent and probable story, from the spurious details. Indeed there is some reason for suspecting with Sprenger "the whole story of the Council, and the resolution of assassinating him, to be apocryphal." (*p.* 208.) Parts of the story are evidently fabricated to illustrate or support the verse of the Coran above quoted, and the other regarding the counter-plot of God, (*Sura VII. v.* 29;)—and to cover the opponents of Mahomet with infamy.

The reasons given in the text make it in the last degree improbable that *assassination* was ever *attempted or even resolved.* The tale of the assassinators surrounding the house for so long a period in the face of Mahomet's family and kinsmen, even apart from the miraculous details, is absurd. If intent on murder, they would at once have rushed on Ali, and finding their mistake, have set off for Abu Bakr's house, (*vide Sprenger, ibidem.*) The clear intimation in Wâckidi that Mahomet left for the house of Abu Bakr *in the middle of the day*, is also opposed to the whole story.

Mahomet's sudden flight, and long concealment in the cave, were probably supposed by his followers, to have been caused by the apprehension of immediate violence. This supposition would require illustrative grounds: and hence the fiction. It seems to us however that it was not violence at Mecca, *but assassination by the way*, which he most feared, and which led to his concealment in the cave, and thus to the securing of a free and safe road.

Upon the whole, *the council itself*, is not unlikely or improbable: and we have therefore given it a place in the text, endeavouring to adapt it as well as possible to the other incidents that are clearly proved.

* *Wâckidi, p.* 43½. Hishâmi calls it *green.* (*p.* 165.)

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be the companion of the prophet's journey.* After a few hasty preparations (among which Abu Bakr did not forget to secure his remaining wealth,) they both crept in the shade of evening from a back window, escaped unobserved through the southern suburbs of the city, and ascending the lofty mountain Thaur (about an hour and a half distant in that direction,) took refuge in a cave near its summit.† Here they rested in security, for the attention of their adversaries would in any case be fixed upon the country *north* of Mecca on the route to Medîna, whither they knew that Mahomet would proceed.

Eight or nine years after, Mahomet thus alludes in the Coran to the position of himself and his friend in the cave of Thaur :—

If ye will not assist the Prophet, verily God assisted him when the unbelievers cast him forth, in company with a second only,‡ when they

* Ayesha, in a somewhat loose tradition quoted by Hisbâmi, relates as follows : Mahomet regularly visited her father's house either in the morning or the evening : that day however, he came at mid-day. Being seated on Abu Bakr's carpet, Mahomet desired that he and Abu Bakr might be left alone. The latter replied that the presence of his two daughters only did not signify, and besought that he would at once tell him what he had to say. Then follows the conversation in which Mahomet tells him that the time had now come for emigrating, and that Abu Bakr was to be his fellow traveller ; whereat Abu Bakr wept for joy. Ayesha adds ;— "I never knew before that any body could *weep* for joy, till I saw Abu Bakr weeping that day." (*Hishâmi, p.* 166.) There is of course a tendency in all Ayesha's traditions to magnify her father's share in the matter.

Tabari gives a tradition to the effect that Abu Bakr proceeded to the house of Mahomet. Ali, whom he found there alone, told him that Mahomet had gone to the cave in Mount Thaur, and that if he wanted him, he should follow him thither. So he hurried in that direction, and made upon Mahomet by the way. And as he approached, the prophet hearing the footsteps thought that it was the Coreish in pursuit, and he quickened his pace and ran, and burst the thong of his shoe, and struck his foot against a rock, so that it bled much. Then Abu Bakr called aloud, and the prophet recognized his voice, and they went both together ; and blood flowed from Mahomet's leg, till they reached the cave at break of day, (*p.* 187.)

Notwithstanding the apparent freshness and circumstantiality of these details, the story is no doubt spurious. It looks like an Alyite or Abbasside fabrication to detract from the honour of Abu Bakr's being selected by the prophet as the companion of his flight, by representing it as an accidental, and not previously planned, arrangement.

† Hishâmi describes it as "a hill in Lower Mecca :" جبل با سفل مكه —*i. e.*, adjoining the lower or southern quarter.

The following is from Burkhardt. "JEBEL THOR. About an hour and a half south of Mecca, to the left of the road to the village of Hosseynye, is a lofty mountain of this name, higher it is said than Djebel Nour. On the summit of it is a cavern, in which Mohammad and his friend Abu Bekr took refuge from the Mekkawys before he fled to Medîna." (p. 176.) But he did not visit the spot. Nor does Ali Bey appear to have done so either.

‡ Lit : *the second of the two* ثاني اثنين

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two were in the cave alone; when he said to his companion :—*Be not cast down, for verily God is with us.* And God caused to descend tranquillity* upon him, and strengthened him with Hosts which ye saw not, and made the word of the unbelievers to be abased; and the word of the Lord, it is exalted; and God is mighty and wise.†

The "sole companion," or in Arabic phraseology, *the second of the two*, became one of Abu Bakr's most honoured titles. Hassân, the contemporary poet of Medina, thus sings of him :—

And the second of the two in the Glorious Cave, while the Foes were searching around, and they [two had ascended the Mountain;
And the Prophet of the Lord, they well knew, loved him,—more than all the world; he held no [one equal unto him ‡

Whatever may have been the real peril, Mahomet and his companion felt it to be a moment of jeopardy. Glancing upward at a crevice whence the morning light broke into the cave, Abu Bakr whispered ;—"What if one of them were to look beneath him; he might see us under his very feet!" "*Think not thus, Abu Bakr!*" said the prophet, "WE ARE TWO, BUT GOD IS IN THE MIDST, A THIRD."§

* The word used is سكينه *sekìnah:* borrowed from the "Shekinah" of the Jews. The expression occurs repeatedly in the Coran.

† *Sura IX., v.* 42.

‡ "Mahomet asked Hassân ibn Thâbit, whether he had composed any poetry regarding Abu Bakr; to which the poet answered that he had, and at Mahomet's request repeated the following lines, (as in the text) :—

وثانى الاثنين فى الغار سنيف القد طاف العدو به اذا صعد الجبلا *
وكان حب الرسول الله قد علموا من المرئه لم يعدل به رجلا *

And Mahomet was amused thereat, and laughed so heartily as even to show his back teeth; and he answered;—"Thou hast spoken truly, Oh Hassan! It is just as thou hast said."—*Wâckidi, p.* 212.

§ فقال يا ابا بكر ما ظنك باالاثنين الله ثالثهما

Wâckidi, p. 212.

The crowd of miracles that cluster about the cave, are so well known as hardly to need repetition. It will be interesting, however, to note how far they are related by our early authorities.

Wâckidi says that after Mahomet and Abu Bakr entered the cave, a spider came and wove her webs one over another at the mouth of the cave. The Coreish hotly searched in all directions for Mahomet, till they came close up to the entrance of the cave. And when they looked, they said one to another;—*Spiders' webs are over it from before the birth of Mahomet.* So they turned back, (*p.* 44.)

Another tradition is that "God commanded a tree and a spider to cover His prophet, and two wild pigeons to perch at the entrance of the cave. Now two men from each branch of the Coreish, armed with swords, issued from Mecca for the search. And they were now close to Mahomet, when the foremost saw the pigeons, and returned to his companions, saying that he was sure from this that nobody was in the cave. And the prophet heard his words, and blessed the wild pigeons, and made them sacred in the Holy Territory.—*Ibidem.*

The verses (quoted in the text,) in Sura VIII., v. 29, about God *plotting* so as to

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Amir ibn Foheirah, the freed-man of Abu Bakr,* who in company with the other shepherds of Mecca, tended his master's flock, stole unobserved every evening with a few goats to the cave, and furnished its inmates with a plentiful supply of milk. Abdallah, the son of Abu Bakr, in the same manner, nightly brought them victuals cooked by his sister Asmâ.† It was his business also to watch closely by day the progress of events, and of opinion, at Mecca, and to report at night the result.

Much excitement had prevailed in the city, when it became first known that Mahomet had disappeared. The chief of the Coreish went to his house, and finding Ali there, asked him where his uncle was. "I have no knowledge of him," replied Ali :—"am I his keeper? Ye bade him to quit the city, and he hath quitted."‡ Then they repaired to the house of Abu Bakr, and questioned his daughter Asmâ, but failing to elicit from her any information,§ they despatched scouts in all directions, with the view of gaining a clue to the track and destination of the prophet, if not with less innocent instructions. But the precautions of Mahomet and Abu Bakr rendered the search fruitless. One by one the emissaries returned with no trace of the fugitives; and it was believed that having gained a fair start, they had outstripped pursuit. The people soon reconciled themselves to the fact. They even breathed more freely now that their troubler was gone. The city again was still.

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deceive the Meccans, and in Sura IX., v.42, about God *assisting* the two refugees in the cave, have probably given rise to these tales.

There are some miraculous stories, but of later growth, regarding Abu Bakr putting his hand into the crevices of the cave to remove the snakes that might be lurking there, and being unharmed by their venomous bites.

* *See* "*Extension of Islam*," (*p.* 6.)

† Hishâmi says that Asmà also used to take them food at night; but that is doubtful. She certainly carried to them the victuals prepared for the journey, on the third day. Hishâmi adds Amir ibn Foheira used to lead his goats over the footsteps of Abdallah in order to obliterate the traces.—*Wâckidi*, *pp.* 44, 212,—*Hishâmi*, *p.* 167.

‡ *Wáckidi*, *p.* 44,—*Tabari*, *p.* 189. The latter adds :—"Thereupon they chided Ali, and struck him, and carried him forth to the Kaaba, and bound him for a short space, and then let him go." The notice is, however, quite unsupported by any other proof or collateral evidence; and is evidently fabricated to enhance the merits of Ali.

§ Hishâmi has the following.—"Asma relates that after the prophet went forth, a company of the Coreish, with Abu Jahl, came to the house. As they stood at the door, she went forth to them. 'Where is thy father?' said they. 'Truly I know not where he is;' she replied. Upon which, Abu Jahl, who was a bad and impudent man, slapped her on the face with such force, that one of her ear-rings dropped." (*p.* 168.)

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On the third night, the daily tidings brought by Abdallah satisfied the refugees that the search had ceased, and the busy curiosity of the first agitation relaxed. The opportunity was come. They could slip away unobserved now. A longer delay might excite suspicion, and the visits of Abdallah and Amir attract attention to the cave. The roads were clear; they might travel without the apprehension (and it was a fear not unreasonable,) of an arrow or dagger from the wayside assassin.

Abdallah received the commission to have all things in readiness the following evening. The guide wandered with two camels close about the summit of mount Thaur. Asmâ prepared food for the journey, and in the dusk carried it to the cave. In the hurry of the moment, she had forgotten the thong for fastening the wallet. So she tore off her girdle; with one of the pieces she closed the wallet, and with the other fastened it to the camel's gear. From this incident Asmâ was ever after honourably known as "She of the two Shreds."* Abu Bakr did not forget his money, and safely secreted his purse of between five and six thousand dirhems.†

The camels were now ready. Mahomet mounted the swifter of the two, Al Cuswâ, thenceforward his favourite,‡ with the guide; and Abu Bakr having taken his servant, Amir ibn Foheira, behind him on the other,§ they started. Leaving the lower

* ذات النطاقين *Wâckidi, pp.* 44, 212. ذات النطاق *Hishâmi, p.* 168. These little incidents add life and reality to the story. The names, "*the Second of the Two*," and "*She of the Shreds*," must have been current generally. They could hardly have been invented for the story, and are therefore corroborative of it.

† *Hishâmi, p.* 168. A curious tradition is given here. Abu Bakr's father, Abu Cuhâfa, now so old that he could not see, came to visit his granddaughters (Asmâ and Ayesha,) after Abu Bakr had departed, and condoled with them on being left without any means. To comfort the old man, Asmâ placed pebbles in a recess, and covering them with a cloth, made him feel them, and believe that it was his son's money, which he had left behind, so the old man went away happy.

‡ Hishâmi adds that Mahomet refused to get on the camel until he had purchased it, or rather pledged himself to pay the price which Abu Bakr had given for it. —*Hishâmi, p.* 168.

§ A tradition in Wâckidi says that Amir rode upon a *third* camel, and that Mahomet getting tired on Al Cuswa, changed to Abu Bakr's camel; the two others changing also. (p. 212.)

This may be explained by the fact, that when the party reached Arj, within a few stages of Medîna, the animals were so fatigued, that they hired an extra camel and servant from the Bani Aslam tribe that inhabited the vicinity. Thus they arrived at Medîna mounted upon *three* camels, which is no doubt the origin of the tradition referred to. —*Hishâmi, p.* 171.

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quarter of Mecca* a little to their right, they struck off by a track considerably to the left of the common road to Medína; and hurrying westward, soon gained the vicinity of the sea-shore nearly opposite Osfân.† The day of the flight was the 4th Rabî I., of the first year of the Hegira, or by the calculations of M. Caussin de Perceval, the 20th June, A. D. 622.‡

In the morning they had reached the Bedouin encampment of a party of the Bani Khuzâa. An Arab lady sat in the door of her tent ready to give food and drink to any travellers that might chance that way. Mahomet and his followers were fatigued and thirsty (for it was the extreme heat of the year ; and they gladly refreshed themselves with the milk which she offered them in abundance.§ During the hottest part of the day, they rested at Cudeid ; and in the evening, thinking they were now at a safe enough distance from Mecca, they joined the common road. They had not proceeded far when they met one of the Meccan scouts, returning on horseback. Surâca, (for that was his name) seeing that he had no chance of success single-handed against four opponents, offered no opposition ; but on the contrary pledged his word, that if permitted to depart in peace, he would not reveal that he had met them.‖

* *Hishâmi, p.* 170,—*Tabari, p.* 194. سلك بهما الى اسفل مكه

† Osfân is a pilgrim station at the present day, on the highway from Mecca to Medîna.

‡ *Hegira*, "emigration." Though applied *par excellence* to the flight of the prophet, it is also applicable to the rest of the emigrants to Medîna, *prior to the taking of Mecca:* and they are hence called *Muhâjirín*, *i. e.*, those who have undertaken the *hejira*, or emigration. We have seen that they commenced to emigrate from the 1st of Moharram, *i. e.*, from the 1st month of the *Hegira era.*

The chronology of M. C. de Perceval is supported by the notices of extreme heat. وذالك في ايام حارة *Hishâmi. p.* 171.

§ Wâckidi here gives miraculous details omitted by Hishâmi. The former relates that it was a time of dearth, and the scarcity of fodder had so reduced the flocks, that they gave no milk. Omm Mâbad (the Arab lady, at first told them of her inability in consequence to entertain them. But there was in the corner of her tent a miserable goat, that not only gave no milk, but was so weak as to be disabled from accompanying the flocks to pasture. The prophet spied it, and going up prayed and touched its udders which immediately filled with milk, and all drank to their hearts' content ! *Wâckidi, p.* 44.

Her husband, who had been absent, shortly after returned ; and on her giving a description of the prophet, he perceived who it had been, and said that he too would have gone with him, if he had been at home.

Omm Mâbad herself is said to have emigrated to Medîna and been converted. —*Ibid.*

‖ The marvellous tales and improbabilities connected with the story of Surâca, are so great, that one is almost tempted to omit all mention of him as fictitious. Yet there may probably be this ground of truth, that they did fall in with one of

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The party proceeded. The prophet of Arabia was safe.

The first tidings that reached Mecca of the real course taken by Mahomet, were brought two or three days after his flight from the cave, by a traveller from the Khuzâite camp at which he had rested. It was now certain from his passing there, that he was bound for Medîna.*

Ali remained at Mecca three days after the departure of Mahomet, appearing every day in public, for the purpose of restoring the property placed in trust with his uncle by various parties. He met with no opposition or trouble, and leisurely took his departure for Medîna.†

The families of Mahomet and Abu Bakr were equally unmolested. Zeinab continued for a time to dwell at Mecca with her unconverted husband. Rockeya had already emigrated with Othman to Medîna. The other two daughters of Mahomet, Omm Kolthûm and Fâtima, with his wife Sawda, were for some weeks left behind at Mecca.‡ His betrothed Ayesha,

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the scouts, or with a Meccan traveller coming the same road,—around which the fiction has grown.

The tale, as given by Hishâmi, is that the Meccans offered a reward of 100 camels to any one who would bring back Mahomet. Surâca had private intimation that a party on three camels had been seen on the Medîna road, and forthwith set out in pursuit. When he had made up on them, his horse stumbled and threw him, then it sank in the earth and stuck fast. Mahomet at his entreaty prayed that it might be loosened, and it was accordingly freed. This happened over again, and then Surâca pledged that he would go back, and turn from their pursuit all the emissaries that were out in quest of Mahomet. He farther begged of Mahomet a writing in remembrance, which Abu Bakr having written "on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a bit of cloth," threw down to him. Surâca picked it up and slipped it unto his quiver. *He kept the whole transaction secret till after the capture of Mecca*, when he produced the writing as an introduction to the favour of Mahomet, and embraced Islam.—*Hishâmi, p.* 169.

The traditions in Wâckidi, though not quite so absurd as the above, are sufficiently marvellous. (*p.* 44½.)

* Here again we have the marvellous. Asmâ relates that they waited three days without knowing whither the party had gone; when one of the genii, whose voice was heard, but who could not be seen, entered Lower Mecca, passed through the town, and made his exit from Upper Mecca, singing the while verses in praise of Omm Mábad, the Khozâite lady, for her entertainment of Mahomet and Abu Bakr. From the position of this encampment, the people then knew which way Mahomet had taken. The very verses of the genius are given both by Hishâmi and Wâckidi; and the latter adds couplets by Hassân ibn Thâbit in reply to them. —*Hishâmi, p.* 168,—*Wâckidi, p.* 44,—*Tabari, p.* 197.

† *Wâckidi, p.* 182,—*Hishâmi, p.* 167, 172,—*Tabari, p.* 200.

‡ Omm Kolthûm had been married to one of the sons of Abu Lahab, but was now living in her father's house. Zeinab's husband, Abul As, was still an

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with the rest of Abu Bakr's family, and other females, likewise remained.*

Mahomet and Abu Bakr would no doubt look to their respective clans to protect their families from insult. But no insult or annoyance of any kind was offered by the Coreish: nor was the slightest attempt made to detain them; although it was not unreasonable that they should have been detained as hostages against any hostile incursion from Medîna. These facts lead us to doubt the intense hatred and bitter cruelty, which the strong colouring of tradition is ever ready to attribute to the Coreish.†

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unbeliever. It is said that he kept her back in Mecca in confinement. But subsequent events show that she was strongly attached to him. The story of their both joining Mahomet at Mecca, some time afterwards, is romantic and affecting.—*Wâckidi, p.* 46,—*Hishâmi, p.* 234.

* When Zeid was sent back from Medîna to bring away Mahomet's family, he carried with him also his own wife Omm Ayman (*i. e.*, Mahomet's old nurse, Baraka, and his son Osâma, then a boy.

Abdallah brought away the family of his father Abu Bakr, and Ayesha among the rest.—*Wâckidi, p.* 46.

† In accordance with this view, is the fact that the first aggressions after the Hegira, were solely on the part of Mahomet and his followers. It was not until several of their caravans had been waylaid and plundered, and blood had thus been shed, that the people of Mecca were forced in self-defence to resort to arms.

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ART. III.—1. *The Life and Happy Death of Charlotte Green, a Poor Orphan. By Alexander Duff, D. D., Missionary at Calcutta. Edinburgh.—(no date.)*

2. *The Eastern Lily gathered; a Memoir of Bala Shoondore Tagore, with Observations on the Position and Prospects of Hindoo Female Society. By the Rev. Edward Storrow, Calcutta, with a Preface by the Rev. James Kennedy, M. A., from Benares, Northern India. London*, 1852.

WE have long entertained a wish to present our readers with an Article, in which should be fully discussed one of the most important and most difficult subjects that can at present occupy the attention of the well-wishers of India. That our intentions have not been carried into effect long ere now, has not been due to any lack of interest in the subject; but rather to a deterring sense of the difficulties that surround it, and the unaffected diffidence of one who feels that he is possessed of but a limited portion of the qualifications essential to its worthy and effective treatment. But feeling as we do the paramount importance of the subject, and earnestly desirous to contribute, according to our abilities and opportunities, to the improvement of India, and to the elevation of the position of *woman*, in the intellectual, moral and social scale, we now venture upon the discussion of the subject, in the hope that even a humble contribution, such as alone we can make, toward its treatment, may yet tend to direct general attention towards it, and that general attention may lead to some practical result. And to this we are led especially by the consideration, that it is one of those subjects whose proper treatment must be practical; and one regarding which a main point would be gained, if general attention could be fixedly directed toward it.

The whole matter of female education, viewed as a great practical measure, is involved in a difficulty which at first sight seems insuperable, and which many have regarded as absolutely so. The difficulty is simply this. Female education is essential to the improvement of this country, but female education requires that the people shall be elevated before it can make much progress. What then is to be done? Are we to sit down with folded hands to wait for the elevation of the males of India, in hopes that the elevation of the females will follow as a matter of course? But then we are met by the consideration, that the existence of intelligently educated mothers, and sisters, and wives, is essential to the training of a race of

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intelligent and high-spirited sons, and brothers, and husbands. Or are we to shut up our scholastic institutions, our schools and colleges for boys and young men, from the conviction that no scholastic training can counteract the evil influences of homes in which the females are left in unreclaimed ignorance? Here again we are met by the reflection that until a healthy feeling of manliness and intelligence pervade the male community, there are no hopes of any thing important being done on behalf of the females. Thus it would seem that there is an obstacle in the path of those who would do good to India, a wall raised up to heaven, so that it cannot be surmounted, and with its foundations deep as hell, so as to preclude all hope of its being undermined. To what conclusion then can we come, but simply this, that the case of India is hopeless, that nought can be done for the elevation of its people which does not of necessity imply a contradiction, that the evils under which they have long groaned are irremediable, inasmuch as the remedy cannot be applied until the evils are removed. It is thus that some have argued, and thus that many have felt; thus that some of the earnest have been discouraged, and thus that many of the luke-warm have been provided with a satisfactory excuse for their inaction. But it is not thus that those who believe in God, and believe that the good of His creatures is pleasing to Him, will be satisfied to rest. Not thus especially that Christian faith, and Christian hope, will consent to be persuaded that the promises which the Bible contains of "the latter-day glory," and of the subjugation of a long rebellious world under the dominion of that King whose kingdom is righteousness, and peace and spiritual joy, are no more than the idle dreams of visionary enthusiasts, and that so large a portion of that world for which the God-man has shed His blood, is to remain for ever under the sway of the devil. Such faith and such hope remembers that long ago that same God-man said unto a man with a withered hand, "stretch it out." It knows that until the command was given, there was no power to move the hand; but it knows that the enabling was simultaneous with the bidding, and that power was in that Divine, yet eminently human, word. And so it reasons—for faith too can reason—that the same power can go forth now, and leaving all questions as to precedence to be determined by the event, it can do with its might what its hand findeth to do.

But while it would be mere dastardliness and atheism to suppose the difficulty absolutely insuperable, it would be folly either to shut our eyes to the existence of the difficulty, or to attempt to act as if no such difficulty lay in the way. Its

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existence must be acknowledged; and, while it must not be allowed to repress the ardour of those who seek the well-being of India, it must be allowed to modify their plans and methods of procedure. Now the way in which we have stated the difficulty itself, seems to us to point out the special modification which it demands. It points to the necessity of constant watchfulness and incessant perseverance, and to the abnegation of all expectation of brilliant efforts on a large scale, attended by brilliant immediate success. There must be constant efforts to elevate the male community, and there must be constant efforts to sustain their elevation, by the simultaneous advance of the female community. If we were to wait till public feeling were so far advanced, as to make any *great* achievement in female education possible, we should wait for ever; for public feeling will only reach that point of advancement through the influence of the female element in society; if we should attempt any such achievement in the present state of public feeling, we should certainly fail. What then? We must take advantage of so much of intelligent public feeling as already exists, confident that there will be a mutual action and re-action between the feeling and the success. It is thus more or less with all progress. The sick man does not recover his strength by lying on his bed, till he be sufficiently strong to walk a mile; but, staff in hand, he drags his heavy and feeble limbs round his chamber to-day, and thereby acquires the strength that will enable him to go round it twice to-morrow, and so by degrees he proceeds from little to more, until he is able to dispense with his staff, and to go forth on his journey with the conscious energy of a strong-limbed man.

It has been often asserted, and we believe with truth, that there is nothing, either in the spirit or the letter of the Hindu Shastras, nor in the practice of ancient times, requiring that rigid seclusion of the females of India, and that refusal to them of the benefits of a good education, which now obtain as the general rule and practice, at least in this part of India. Our friend, Baboo Pyari Chand Mittra, in a discourse read many years ago, before an association of students in Calcutta, has collected a considerable number of instances, which make it clearly appear that there were, in ancient times, such a body of even learned ladies as might lead us to the conclusion that there must have been a large number of females who received a good education. Although it does not make much for our argument, yet as a matter of curiosity, we may refer to a few of the instances cited by the lecturer. Foremost on the list is

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the world-renowned Lilavati. Our friend, we suspect, is in error, in supposing her to have been the author of the mathematical treatise that is called by her name. To us it appears that the more authentic account of the matter is contained in a tradition, which is in one part too indelicate to be transferred to our pages; but the substance of which is, that the treatise was composed by her father, the celebrated Bhaskar Acharjya, who called it by the name of his daughter. Still the work bears internal evidence of having been composed for the use of a lady, and it is very probable that old Bhaskar composed it for the purpose of instructing the young lady, by whose soft-sounding and beautiful name he called it.

Besides Lilavati (the Baboo says) there were many females of literary and scientific attainments. The Tamuls boast of having possessed four female philosophers; viz., Avyar and her three sisters, Upp-ay, Vallie and Uravay *(As: Ress, vol. vii., p. 344.)* Avyar was the daughter of one Bhaguvan, a Brahman, and outshone all her brothers and sisters in learning. "She was contemporary with Kumbur, the author of the Tamul *Ramayan*, and she employed her eloquent pen on various subjects, such as astronomy, medicine and geography; her works of the latter description are much admired. Avyar remained a virgin all her life, and died much admired for her talents in poetry, arts and sciences." She was a good chemical scholar, and has left several treatises on morality, which are read in the Tamul schools, among the first books which children learn to read. Upp-ay, or Uppaja, who was born at Uta Kuda, in the Arcot district, wrote a work on morality, entitled *Niti Patul.* The two other sisters wrote poems on miscellaneous subjects. They flourished in the ninth century, and were the contemporaries of Lilavati and Shankar Archarjya. I am given to understand by an intelligent Hindu gentleman, that he knew of one Huttu Vidyalancar, a female scholar at Benares, who was versed in *Smriti* and *Nyaya.* We also hear of the literary proficiency of the wives of Kalidas and Kornut, Raja of Khona, who was conversant with *Jowtis* [*Jyotishe? astronomy*] and who is well known by the *bochuns* [sayings] she has left behind; of Gargu, the wife of Yagnya Valkya, who is said to have possessed a good knowledge of *Yog Shastra.*

Besides these, the Baboo gives a list of thirteen ladies who were conversant with various kinds of learning, including medicine, ethics and politics. Now all these instances, (and we believe a much greater number has been collected by the Raja Radhakanta Deb), make it probable that the practices of close seclusion, and of non-education, are an innovation upon the proper Hindu system. Whether the innovation date from the Mussulman period, and if so, whether it were introduced in imitation of the Moslems, or whether from the fear of allowing ladies to be exposed to the violence of the seductions of the conquerors, we stop not now to ensquire. However interesting as matters of historical research these questions may be, they do not fall in with the design of our present

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essay, which is intended to treat of things as they are, and as they ought to be.

Be the law then what it may, and whatever may have been the ancient custom, the present fact is, that amongst the seventy or eighty millions of females in India, there are probably not 5,000 who have received, or are receiving, or, unless some decided steps be taken speedily, have any prospect of receiving, any education whatever; while the very few who do receive any, are confined to the merest elements. Now it is not necessary for us to deduce the inference that must be drawn from this fact, with reference to the condition of the females thus cut off from the blessings of education. This is a point on which many native friends, whom we should be very sorry to offend, are peculiarly sensitive. We do not respect them the less for the feelings that lead them to stand up on behalf of their mothers, and wives, and sisters; nor do we deny the existence of those good qualities which they are fond of attributing to these relatives. But still the fact remains, that a zenana, occupied only by the ignorant, is and must be a place of mental and spiritual darkness. We would ask those friends to whom we refer, and all other native gentlemen into whose hands this paper may fall, to consider what they and we should have been, had we been subjected to similar influences. We ask them to go back over their past lives, and to abstract from their minds all the sentiments that they have imbibed from books, all the mental energy that they have acquired from intercourse with educated men, all the moral principle that has been developed by the contemplation of the great and the good of all times,—and having thus divested themselves in imagination of all the qualities that they have been endowed withal in virtue of their education, to conceive themselves starting afresh on the journey of life, under a diametrically opposite set of influences, condemned to spend their lives in the narrow circle of a zenana, without any society save that of those as uneducated as themselves, without any books, without any knowledge, without any cultivation of the mental faculties and the moral feelings. If they do not admit that they would find themselves dark, unenlightened, gloomy, their minds open to all evil influences, we can only say that they must be otherwise constituted by nature than the rest of their race. The matter seems to us to admit of no dispute. It is a simple fact, that it is not good for any soul to be without knowledge; and the essential evils of ignorance must be abundantly enhanced, in the case of those who are not only left in ignorance themselves, but who are doomed to associate mainly with others

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equally ignorant: and such is the case with Hindu ladies. It is not considered proper that they should have any social intercourse even with their husbands during the day. Immured in the zenana, employed partially in menial occupations, but mainly in idle gossip or listless inaction, it were mere affectation to suppose, or profess to believe, that their minds are not in a very different state from that in which they should be. It is a simple fact that if God's seed be not sown and duly cultured, there will be an abundant crop of devil's weeds in the human heart; and it were altogether a false delicacy to suppose that this rule, which elsewhere holds universally, should not hold here. We speak not of crimes that may have been perpetrated within the walls of zenanas. We are quite willing to admit that these are rare. We have no desire to deny that there is a sort of conventional zenana-morality, which is not very often violated by flagrant crimes. But we appeal to those who best know and are best able to judge, whether there be not also a conventional immorality, which is as seldom transcended into the regions of virtue, as it is passed over into the regions of vice and crime.

But the condition of Hindu females, in the highest, the middle and the low classes respectively, would require for its treatment a much larger space than we have at our disposal, and also opportunities of information which we do not enjoy. Fortunately, it does not form a necessary part of our present subject. It is enough for us to assume, what no one will be bold enough to deny, that there is much that is wrong in the condition of females of all classes in this country; and although we are not so sanguine as to expect that the evil can ever be wholly remedied, yet we are confident that it would be very greatly alleviated, if a good system of education were introduced and universally adopted.

The question then comes to be, how such a system of education is to be introduced, and how its general adoption is to be secured. Now this is one of those practical questions, in respect of which the past is the great teacher of the future. Every failure is a beacon; every success, the minutest, is at once an encouragement and a guide, or at least an indication of the general direction in which we must steer our course. If we had space enough, we lack information, and if we had a greater amount of information, we lack space, to give a history of previous efforts in this great and good cause. However interesting, and however useful, such a history might be, we must deny ourselves the gratification that we might derive from its execution. Haply, we may hereafter reap the reward of this self-

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denial, in being able to do more justice to the subject than we could possibly do now. At present, we must confine ourselves within the limits of a few paragraphs. For the sake of distinctness, we may divide this part of our subject into three sections—attempts to found day-schools for girls—boarding establishments for orphans—and attempts at domestic instruction in the families of the middle and higher classes.

1. *Day-schools for Girls.*—Almost every Mission in this part of India has at one time or another attempted to establish such schools; and many wives of Missionaries have laboured faithfully and unobtrusively in this department of hard work, and are receiving their reward from that gracious Master who seeth in secret, and openly rewards all faithful attempts to do good in an evil world. But it must be acknowledged that the success has been infinitesimally small. They managed to gather together a very few girls, who were bribed to give an irregular attendance for a very short period, by small presents of money or clothes. Belonging exclusively to the lowest classes of natives, and being sent to school for no other end than to obtain the small gratuity, being removed before they had made such progress in learning, that they could make advances after their withdrawal from school, and being withdrawn, on their attainment of their ninth or tenth year, in order to become the wives of completely uneducated men, they almost uniformly forgot immediately the little that they had learned at school. Nor was this all. In order to the education of the females of India, it was essential that female education should be invested with some degree of respectability in the estimation of the native community. But these schools were fitted rather to bring discredit upon the cause in the estimation of a community who regard nought as good in which the poor and the lowly are permitted to share, and who would fain be enlightened by another sun and breathe another atmosphere, rather than share the common light and the common air with men of inferior wealth and rank. But the prejudice against those schools, we grieve to say, was not always quite so unreasonable. It so happens that the only class of females in India to whom custom has accorded a right to a certain amount of education, are those destined for prostitution. Now this fact is both one of the great causes of the dislike with which old-school natives generally regard female education in the abstract; and it raised a prejudice against these schools in particular, and not always, we believe, without reason. The base wretches who make it their business to train poor girls to this trade of infamy and misery, would probably soon find that these Missionary schools

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afforded gratuitously such an elementary education as they wished to bestow on their victims. True, it was accompanied by the inculcation of Christian truth, but they could scarcely doubt that the influences of their wretched homes would be sufficient to counteract the purifying influences of the lessons of the school. Or if these lessons should unhappily pervert the mind of some poor girl, and make her averse to the course of life which she was destined to follow—what then? They had means to compel her to follow it none the less; and her feelings were not a matter of paramount consideration. Now if these girls were sent from these houses to the school, we cannot blame parents of respectability for declining to send their own daughters to schools where such as these must be their associates. We do not know whether this practice were ever resorted to by the brothel-keepers of Calcutta; but we were told by the wife of a Missionary in another part of India, that after laboring for many years in these schools—(and we know, though she did not tell us this, that she labored with extraordinary energy and zeal)—she had discovered, what she had not had the slightest suspicion of before, that almost every one of many hundreds of girls who had attended her schools, belonged to this wretched class. If there be any man who will say that this lady's labors amongst these poor girls were necessarily in vain, and that she had expended her strength and zeal to no purpose, we will contradict that man, be he who he may. If by her own exhibition of the character of a Christian woman, and by those lessons of heavenly purity which she taught from the word of God, she were able to stamp on a single heart the idea of goodness, then her work has not been in vain. Who shall say that there is not, even at this midnight hour, some such idea struggling to maintain itself in feeble existence in the tainted atmosphere of some haunt of vice? Who shall say that there is not, in the breast of some unhappy woman, even as she lies in the foul embrace of him who has bought her for the hour, a silent protest against that to which she is constrained to submit, a protest in the name of injured womanhood, and in the name of heaven's tarnished image, which preserves her from being, in the regard of the all-seeing One, that utterly vile thing which she seems? And who shall say, that in after years, when the vile thing has become yet more vile, and disease and squalor have made the painted toy an object of disgust, the remembrance may not recur of that Saviour who came to seek the lost, who rejecteth not the vilest of the vile, but says to the most despised and the most wretched of the sons and daughters of Adam, "Come unto me, all ye who are weary and heavy-laden,

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and I will give you rest ?" If in a single instance such results as these be produced—and we know no reason to doubt that they may have been produced in many instances—then we declare that the labours of those female Missionaries who have exerted themselves in this good cause, have not been in vain: and we should be sorry for ourselves, if we could sympathize with those who speak sneeringly or slightingly of them. But what we do say, and what we must say, is this, that for the purpose with which we have now to do, the introduction of a system of national female education into India, such efforts are not only inadequate in degree, but unsuitable in their very nature; and that if the end is to be attained at all, it must be by other means. Had there not been an essential unsuitableness in the system itself, it can scarcely be doubted that more would have been effected than has actually been, by the many excellent women who have devoted so much time and energy to this work. Most gladly would we register in these our pages, the names, and however brief memorials, of these devoted pioneers of India's regeneration, of whom we doubt not that, although it was not given them to accomplish any great visible result, yet they performed a service as good and as necessary as will fall to the share of those who shall be privileged to finish, in the light of day, that which they began in obscurity. When the goodly pillar of female enlightenment and female piety shall rear its graceful head towards heaven, those who have cleared away the jungle and laid the foundation deep in the earth, will be seen to be entitled to no less grateful recognition than those who shall have moulded the capital and laid it in its lofty place. But we cannot mention all who have taken part in this good and necessary work of preparation; and we should therefore refrain from mentioning any, were it not that there is one, who, in the allowance of all, is so greatly distinguished above the rest, that she may be selected without a particle of invidiousness. Many of our readers will anticipate our mention of the name of Mrs. Wilson. We the more gladly devote a small portion of our space to a notice of the labours of this most excellent woman, because these labours are possessed of a historical value in connexion with our subject; the changes in her plans and modes of operation, from time to time, being strictly indicative of the changes of opinion, amongst those most interested in the matter, as to the different methods that we have enumerated of prosecuting the work.

It was somewhere about 1818 or 1819, that a Society, called, we believe, the Union School Society, was formed in Calcutta, for educational purposes. Shortly after its formation, its mem-

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bers, encouraged by the success that had attended their operations amongst the boys, determined to make an attempt in the direction of Female Education. At the invitation of this Society Miss Cooke came to Calcutta, having been selected for this most difficult service, if we have been rightly informed, and our memory serve us aright, by the celebrated Richard Cecil, whose admirable sagacity was never more distinctly manifested than in this selection. Miss Cooke arrived in Calcutta in May, 1821, having been a ship-mate of Mr. Ward and Mrs. Marshman, of Serampore, who were then returning to India, and of Mr. and Mrs. Mack, who were coming for the first time. We have stated that she came on the invitation of a certain educational Society; but on her arrival, it appeared that the native members of the committee of that Society, although they had spoken well while yet the matter was at a distance and in the region of theory, recoiled from the obloquy of so rude an assault on time-honored custom. This was neither the first nor the last time of the enactment of a similar scene. One might almost fancy, that the "many-minded" painter of the human heart had studied his art in Bengal. Certainly nowhere else in the world could he have found so good models for his masterly sketch;—

> The native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;
> And enterprises of great pith and moment
> With this regard, their currents turn awry,
> And lose the name of action—

It is not for us now to enquire what or of what kind was the "regard," in virtue of which this "enterprise of great pith and moment" was turned awry; but so it was. The babus had been brought up to the talking-point, but not to the acting-point. An arrangement was however entered into with the Church Mission Society, and Miss Cooke began her operations under their auspices. An account of the commencement of these operations is given by Mrs. Chapman, in her little work on Female Education; and we are sure that we shall gratify our readers by extracting it at length—

> Whilst engaged in studying the Bengali language, and scarcely daring to hope that an immediate opening for entering upon the work, to which she had devoted herself, would be found, Miss Cooke paid a visit to one of the native schools for boys, in order to observe their pronunciation; and this circumstance, trifling as it may appear, led to the opening of her first school in Thunthuniya. Unaccustomed to see a European lady in that part of the native town, a crowd collected round the door of the school. Amongst them was an interesting looking girl, whom the school pundit drove away. Miss Cooke desired the child to be called, and by an interpreter asked her if she wished to learn to read. She was told in reply,

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that this child had for three months past been daily begging to learn to read with the boys, and that if Miss Cooke (who had made known her purpose of devoting herself to the instruction of native girls) would attend next day, twenty girls should be collected. Accompanied by a female friend, conversant with the language, she repeated her visit on the morrow, and found fifteen girls, several of whom had their mothers with them. Their natural inquisitiveness prompted them to enquire what could be Miss Cooke's motive for coming amongst them. They were told that she had heard in England, that the women of their country were kept in total ignorance, that they were not taught to read or write, that the men only were allowed to attain any degree of knowledge, and it was also generally understood that the chief obstacle to their improvement was that no females would undertake to teach them; she had therefore felt compassion for them, and had left her country, her parents and friends, to help them. The mothers with one voice cried out, smiting themselves with their right hands, "Oh what a pearl of a woman is this!" It was added, "She has given up every earthly expectation, to come here, and seeks not the riches of the world, but desires only to promote your best interests."—"Our children are yours, we give them to you," was the reply of two or three of the women at once. One of them asked, "What will be the use of learning to our girls, and what good will it do to them!" She was told;—"It will make them more useful in their families, and increase their knowledge, and it was hoped that it would also tend to give them respect, and produce harmony in their families"—"True (said one of them) our husbands now look upon us as little better than brutes." Another asked, "What benefit will you derive from this work!" She was told that the only return wished for, was to promote their best interest and happiness. Then said the woman, "I suppose this is a holy work, and well-pleasing to God." As they were not able to understand much, it was only said in return that God was always well-pleased that his servants should do good to their fellow-creatures. The women then spoke to each other, in terms of the highest approbation, of what had passed.

Whether induced by the novelty of the thing, or won by the attractiveness of this "pearl of a woman," or by what other motive impelled we cannot say,—but for a while the lower class of the people in Calcutta seemed to have laid aside their wonted apathy, and fond hopes were entertained of a bright day about to dawn on India's daughters. In the course of the first year eight schools were established, attended, more or less regularly, by 214 girls. These schools were taught by Pandits or Sarkars, and daily visited by Miss Cooke, who must have gone through an amount of labour from which most *men* would have shrunk. But it was a work of faith, and a labor of love; and she was cheered and sustained by the sight of a greater amount of success than she had dared anticipate, and by the hope of a glorious future. Altogether the work was in a very promising state; the girls made satisfactory progress, and in due time were able to read and write with tolerable accuracy, and to sew neatly.

Two or three years after Miss Cooke's arrival in India, she

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became the wife of the Rev. Isaac Wilson, a Missionary of the Church Mission Society; but she did not relax in her efforts in behalf of the good cause. Day by day, and all day, she was moving about from school to school, welcomed every where by smiling faces, and diffusing cheerfulness and animation wherever she appeared. But the two great obstacles to success soon appeared. These were early marriages, and the difficulty of getting good teachers. In consequence of the mischievous and unnatural habits of premature marriage, the girls were removed from school in their ninth or tenth year; and although they might have attained the power of reading with considerable accuracy a lesson that they had prepared, yet this degree of proficiency is not sufficient to induce any one to read for the sake of information. The necessary consequence was, that the great majority of the girls lost in a few months the power that they had acquired in several years. This obstacle to success could not be removed. All that could be done was to go on, in the hope that some of the seed sown would germinate, and to sow all the more, in order that the chances might be multiplied of obtaining a few good results amidst many failures. The other great evil that had to be contended with, was the difficulty, or impossibility, of procuring competent and faithful teachers. The schools went on well in Mrs. Wilson's presence, but badly enough in her absence. The former of these evils it was impossible then, as it is impossible now, to remedy. Its cure must be the effect of time, and of the progress of which time is an essential condition. The latter evil could be diminished to a considerable extent, by the abandonment of the local in favor of the central system. This involved a complete modification of the measures that had been hitherto adopted: but Mrs. Wilson did not shrink from the confession of having been in error, which, as some one has said, is only tantamount after all to the confession that one is wiser to-day than he was yesterday. Mrs. Wilson's efforts were now directed to the obtaining of the means of erecting a suitable building for a Central School. In order to this, it was found necessary to establish a special Society for Native Female Education. This Society was established in the beginning of 1824. Funds were raised, and on the 18th of May, 1826, the foundation stone of the Central School, in Cornwallis Square, was laid. In connexion with this building, we must not omit to notice the extraordinary munificence of a native gentleman, the Rajah Buddinath Roy, who subscribed the very large sum of 20,000 Sicca Rupees, or upwards of £2,000 sterling, towards the erection. We believe this dona-

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tion for a great patriotic object, is to this day unrivalled in the annals of native liberality; and it is properly commemorated by the following inscription on a marble tablet, inserted into the wall of the principal hall in the institution:—

THIS
CENTRAL SCHOOL,
FOUNDED BY A SOCIETY OF LADIES,
FOR THE EDUCATION OF
NATIVE FEMALE CHILDREN,
WAS GREATLY ASSISTED BY
A LIBERAL DONATION OF Rs. 20,000, FROM
RAJAH BUDDINATH ROY BAHADUR;
AND ITS OBJECTS FURTHER PROMOTED
AND FUNDS SAVED BY
CHARLES KNOWLES ROBINSON, ESQ.,
WHO PLANNED AND EXECUTED THIS BUILDING,
1828.

While this school was being built, Mrs. Wilson went on with her usual energy, superintending her small local schools, which seem to have been nineteen in number. On the 1st April, 1828, she removed into the new building in Cornwallis Square, and into that focus the rays of her influence, which had been before so widely diffused, were now concentrated. As all was now transacted under her own eye, and the services of unprincipled heathen teachers were either dispensed with, or rendered under constant inspection and supervision, the education went on, as might have been expected, with greatly enhanced energy.

Theoretically and in the abstract, we confess that we should regard a number of small local schools as preferable to one large Central School. When girls will not go to school, it would seem to be necessary to take the school to them. The parents too would be more likely to be interested in the matter, if they saw the work of education carried on under their own eye, in their own peculiar lane. It is not unreasonable to suppose that many would send their daughters to such a school, who would shrink from the idea of parting with them for many hours in every day, and permitting them to go into a region of the town which is as much unknown to them as is Cheapside to the denizen of Belgrave Square, and more unknown than any place *out of England* is, in these days of rail-roads and steamers, to any Englishman. Moreover, it appears to us, that there is something in the small district-school in accordance with the habits and modes of thinking of

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the people. The normal condition of Bengali life is village life; and this *genius loci*,—what they would call the *dharma* of the country—is transferred even to the metropolis. Calcutta, in so far as the lower classes of its inhabitants are concerned, is rather a vast conglomeration of villages, than a city in the European sense of the word. It would therefore be, in our estimation, better, if it could be managed, that a system of education, which, whether designedly or not, is practically taken advantage of only by those classes of the people, should be adapted to their habits and feelings in this respect. In every well regulated village there is a little school under the care of a *Guru-mahasoy*, and we know not how the affections of the people could better be conciliated towards female schools, than by assimilating them as much as possible to these village schools. While such is distinctly our theoretical preference, we doubt not that, in the circumstances in which Mrs. Wilson found herself placed, she acted wisely in abandoning her district schools in favor of the Central School in Cornwallis Square. We do not know that we could get at *this* day, and we may fairly suppose that Mrs. Wilson could much less get at *that* day, a body of teachers, whom it would be wise to leave in sole charge of such a set of schools, with the exception of a short visit from the Lady Superintendent on alternate days, or perhaps only twice in a week. But while we perceive that the Central School was a necessity, and is a necessity still, whilst we thankfully acknowledge the amount of good that it has been the means of effecting, we cannot but regret the existence of that necessity which led to the abolition of the district schools.

We presume that it must have been with the opening of the Central School, that the system was introduced of paying for the attendance of girls. Probably it occurred somewhat in this wise. It was of course impossible now for the girls to go to school alone. Female servants must be sent into the various districts of the city, to collect the scholars and accompany them to school. But it so happens that the scholars of every school, male or female, are in a state of continual fluctuation. Removals are constantly taking place; and if a school is to be kept up, the places of those removed must be filled by new entrants. It was therefore, as a matter of course, the duty of these dames to beat up for recruits. But as it would be impossible to know whether women of their class did their duty faithfully, with a view to secure the regular attendance of enlisted scholars, and to keep up the numbers by enlisting others to fill the places of those removed from time to time, it would be found necessary to make their pay depend, at least in part, upon the success of

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their exertions. The system was accordingly introduced of paying a small head-money, a pysa (1½ farthings) a day, as we gather from Mrs. Chapman, for each girl brought to school. But as this commission was given for mere numbers, without reference to the identity of the girls brought from day to day, it was of course the policy of these matrons to purchase the attendance of any girls whom they came across; and for this purpose they gave up a portion of their own commission on each girl, in order to encrease the number of girls. Thus the matron calculated;—if I can get twelve girls, I shall have twelve pysa; but if by giving each girl a quarter of a pysa, I can get twenty girls, I shall still have three-fourths of twenty pysa, that is, fifteen pysa, left. When the principle of paying the girls for their attendance was introduced, of course no girls would come without the *douceur*, and the system of payment became universal. The question as to the propriety of this system has been much discussed amongst those practically interested in the work of Female Education. Without holding, as some do, that it is absolutely wrong, we cannot but agree with those who consider it as highly undesirable, if it could be avoided. We should regard it as best of all, if parents could be got to pay, in whole or in part, for the education of their daughters; next to this, that they should receive their education gratuitously; and worst of all, that they should be paid for accepting of education. But the two former plans being quite unattainable, and the question being between the bribery system, as it has been called, and the giving up of Female Education altogether, we agree upon the whole with those who have so far submitted to circumstances, and acquiesced in a state of matters which all admit to be in itself inexpedient and undesirable. Undoubtedly, the most patent evil which this system has introduced—(for there may be an evil not less real in fostering in the minds of the girls and their parents that desire of getting all and giving nothing, that feeling of absolute pleasure in dependance, which is so characteristic of the Bengali mind)—is the unnatural fluctuation in the scholars of our female schools, and the waste of energy in teaching a different set of girls from day to day. Without discussing the poet's oft-quoted dictum, that "a little learning is a *dangerous* thing," we cannot help seeing that so little learning as can be acquired by a girl attending school only occasionally, is an utterly *useless* thing.

We have dwelt upon this point at some length, in order that our readers may be the better able to form an idea of the immense difficulties that those ladies have had to contend with, who have devoted themselves to this work. Their

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Sisyphus-toil will not be unrewarded by the gracious Master whom they serve; but it is right that it should also be appreciated, as correctly as may be, by those who take interest in this great work. As we are about to pass away from this portion of our subject, we take this opportunity of bearing our humble testimony to the laborious and self-denying zeal of those who have conducted the Central School since Mrs. Wilson left it, and of those who are now at its head.

We have said that there have been many small schools in connection with the various Missionary bodies, and their history has been of the same character with that of Mrs. Wilson's local schools. It is not necessary to particularize many of them; but we shall mention one or two, on account of various peculiarities. At Bansbaria, in the neighbourhood of Chinsurah, is a mission station of the Free Church of Scotland, under a native minister. His wife, who was brought up in one of the institutions in Calcutta, which we shall shortly have to notice, has for several years devoted herself to this work, and has collected a school of about thirty little girls, which she superintends and conducts without foreign aid. At Bali, about half-a-dozen miles from Calcutta, there is a boys' school, established some years ago by a native Christian, on his own account and for his own support. Having recently visited that school, we were both surprised and delighted to find that his wife had formed a small school for girls, and we had great pleasure in hearing them repeat several little hymns, and a few of them read very easy lessons. These village schools are very much to our taste, and we heartily wish their conductors God-speed. In Calcutta, some years ago, the Rev. Mr. Yule, the agent of a Society of ladies in connection with the Church of Scotland, organized a set of schools in Calcutta and its immediate vicinity, very similar to Mrs. Wilson's original district schools. But we understand that they have lately been given up, mainly for the same reason which led to the abandonment of hers.*

Apart from the various missionary bodies, very little has been done in the Mofussil. A few schools have been established by the people in a few localities; but they have been generally induced to adopt such a course by pressure from without, the influence of some zealous magistrate, or the exertions of some member of the community in advance of his age. But the interest has generally died away with the novelty; the magistrate has been removed, or the baboo has come to push his fortune in Calcutta, and the school has languished to dissolu-

* As this sheet is just going to press, we learn that the resolution to close the schools has not been carried into effect.

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tion. A brief sketch of the history of one of these schools will at once shew the almost inconceivable difficulties with which this work is beset in the Mofussil, and will afford us an opportunity of recording at least the names of some who are well entitled to honorable mention, were it but for the perseverance with which they have maintained the struggle for the existence of their school.

Barraset is a station about twelve or fourteen miles from Calcutta, well known to many of our readers as once the *locale* of the Cadets' barracks. Here a female school, was opened in 1849. The men who, under the late Mr. Bethune's guidance, and with his encouragement, carried out the undertaking, and have still continued to keep up the school, were Baboo Piari Chand Sircar, the Head-master of the Government School, and two gentlemen, each bearing the name of Nobin Chandra Mittra, one of them an assistant in the Calcutta Abkari Commissioner's Office, and the other a graduate of the Medical College. These, with some other liberal-minded and active young men belonging to the station, induced several of the more respectable residents in the town and neighbouring villages to send their girls to the new school. Shortly after its opening, the school was visited by Mr. Bethune, who presented it with maps, pictures, books, &c. At first it was held in a temporary building, but subsequently in a pucka house, built expressly for the purpose. The most violent animosity was exhibited on the part of the more bigoted portion of the community, towards the school and every one connected with it. The law was, as usual, enlisted in the cause of oppression and persecution. Charges of assault, suits for arrears of rent, and complaints of all kinds and characters, were brought against the parents of those who sent their daughters to the school. Fortunately this bright idea of legal persecution occurred during the temporary magistracy of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, who was not satisfied with the mere reports of darogas and nazirs, but enquired himself into each charge, as it came before him. Otherwise, the results might have been most disastrous. The members of the female school committee were assailed in the streets with the foulest language, and every kind of annoyance that vindictiveness could suggest, was brought to bear against them. One morning it was found that a broad and deep ditch had been dug in the night in front of the house of one of these gentlemen! Notwithstanding all this, and a great deal more than this, they persevered, and the poorer people persevered in sending their children to school, though they were excommunicated, and in every possible way annoyed and

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persecuted for doing so. At last they tired out the perseverance and ingenuity of their persecutors. All opposition has died away; but, as is too often the case, the excitement and the interest have died away with it; and although the school still exists, the numbers who attend it are smaller than in the days of its early struggles. Still the number is almost twenty, one or two of whom learn a little English; but they leave at a very early age. The falling off may be partly due to the removal of Piari Chand Sircar from the district to a higher post in Calcutta, and partly to the withdrawal of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, whose zeal and energy gave a stimulus to the exertion of the residents; but we fear that it is mainly the result of the inevitable tendency of all good undertaken in this country, to languish for want of support, when the excitement of novelty is worn off. Verily, this is the land where "all good dies, death lives."

We have not attempted any thing like a history of the various efforts that have been made, by means of day-schools, whether local or central, to introduce education among the female population of India, but have contented ourselves with such a sketch of Mrs. Wilson's operations, and with such mention of the operations of a few others, as may tend to shew, at once, the nature of the difficulties that have to be contended with, and the admirable perseverance with which these difficulties have been encountered.

We have only to mention one other attempt in this direction, of a different kind from those to which we have hitherto adverted. We refer to the efforts made by the late Hon'ble Mr. Bethune, to introduce Female Education amongst the higher classes of natives, by the foundation of a school designed specially and exclusively for this end.

Few men have come to India with a more sincere desire to do good, than J. E. D. Bethune. Possessing considerable property at home, he seems to have come here without any design to increase it; and we should suppose that he must have spent the whole of his official income while here, and spent it in great part on objects unconnected with self. Having taken part in the great movement in England for the education of the people, he naturally directed his attention to educational matters immediately on his arrival here; and ere long he was appointed President of the Council of Education. Like all men interested in the elevation of the people of this country, he soon saw the importance of Female Education, as an indispensable means towards that end. As to the mental process through which he was led, and the preliminary steps that

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he took, we are not informed. But he came to the conclusion to which every one must come, that, for the end of introducing aught worthy of the name of a national system of Female Education, it is absolutely necessary that the higher classes should be comprehended within its provisions. He accordingly resolved to found and endow a school for these classes on a worthy scale. Having received assurances of support, —(as a Member of Council would receive such assurances of support in any undertaking whatsoever)—from many influential babus, the foundation stone of his school in Cornwallis Square was laid with rejoicing. The building was soon completed, and the school was opened in May, 1849.

There could not by possibility have been more favourable circumstances than those in which this school was opened. With all the *prestige* of Mr. Bethune's name and high official position, with his indomitable energy, and enthusiasm enflamed by certainty of success, with many of the most influential natives in the country pledged to its support, with a lady superintendent that was all that could possibly have been desired, it might have been hoped that now, at least, the great problem had been solved, and that India's year of jubilee was at hand. It ought to be specially mentioned too that every possible concession had been made to native prejudices. No pupil was to be admitted without the ascertainment of the unsullied respectability, according to native ideas, of her family. The young ladies were to be conveyed to and from the institution, as native ladies can travel through the streets, without prejudice to their respectability. No male person was to be admitted within the walls of the institution while the pupils were within it.* Although Mr. Bethune constantly, in public and in private, expressed his persuasion that a Christian education is better for any community than an unchristian one, yet on this most important point he was willing to concede to native prejudice, and voluntarily made a pledge, which no one ever suspected him of any intention to violate, that Christianity should be entirely excluded from the course of instruction. It was a great experiment, and we well remember the anxiety with which we, and we doubt not many others, awaited its development. We never doubted that it would begin well. We expected that a great rush would have been made to the school at first; and our only fear was that the excitement of novelty having passed, the interest would gra-

* We believe that an exception was made, at the special request of the babus themselves, in favor of the munificent founder.

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dually subside. But even in this we were disappointed. The interest never existed in any considerable degree. With the exception of a very few babus—all honor to these few—even those who had seemed most earnest about the matter while "distance lent enchantment to the view," shrank back like craven renegades, when the time came for action. The number of pupils never at any time exceeded sixty. Nor was it the untimely death of Mr. Bethune that caused the success of his enterprise to be so limited. In fact, before his removal, he had done for it all that he could have done, excepting to carry out his design with respect to an endowment. But no part of the want of success can be fairly attributed to the non-accomplishment of this part of the scheme. The late Lady Dalhousie immediately undertook to defray the charges, and on her death the Governor-General engaged to continue the subscription (about Rs. 600 a month, we believe) as long as he shall remain in India : and, on his Lordship's recommendation, the Court of Directors have engaged that, on his retirement, they shall take the charge upon themselves. We repeat therefore that there was nothing left undone which could have been done, in order to ensure the success of the undertaking; and that it has succeeded so partially, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that there was something in its constitution unsuited to the accomplishment of the purpose for which it was designed, or to the time at which it was established. This conclusion we believe to be correct, and we shall have occasion ere long to consider what the special point of unsuitableness actually was. In the mean time, let us express our hearty admiration of the noble zeal which Mr. Bethune brought to bear upon this enterprise. We never flattered that gentleman while he was alive. We met him frequently both in public and in private, and much oftener did we dissent from him than agree with him in regard to those matters that came under discussion; and perhaps the most unmitigated censure ever passed upon any part of his official procedure appeared in these pages, and proceeded from the humble pen of the present writer. But we do not the less heartily commend him in a matter where commendation is entirely due ; nor have we the slightest sympathy with those who, by hints and innuendoes of vanity and desire of courting the natives, would sully the lustre of his fair fame. The act was a good act in itself ; it was most energetically performed, and the motives would never have been so closely scrutinized, had not its doer happened to render himself unpopular on other grounds amongst a certain portion of the community. May heaven save *us* ever from

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such logic as this. "Mr. Bethune drew up the 'Black Act,' therefore he must have been actuated by unworthy motives in all that he did." So far as we could judge from such intercourse as we had occasion to hold with him, the prevailing desire of his heart was to do good to the community amongst whom he was called to sojourn, according to his views of what was good for them. With these views we did not generally agree; but we often conceived the wish, that, such as he was, we had more men in high places like him. That his zeal did not always allow him to wait until knowledge might have enabled him to form a strictly correct judgment, may be true; and if true, it is much to be regretted; but that the zeal itself was not sincere, it would be difficult to make us believe.

So much as to the founder of this institution. As to the institution itself, we repeat that if it could not succeed with the *prestige* of Mr. Bethune's name, and with the impulse which it received from his zeal, and with the subsequent hearty support of Lord and Lady Dalhousie, and under the superintendence of Mrs. Ridsdale, Mrs. Hæberlin and Miss Turner, we cannot but conclude that there was a fundamental mistake in its constitution. Yet as we hope of the Central School, so do we hope of it, that its time is yet to come; that, as it was in advance of public feeling at the time of its establishment, that public feeling will come up to it; and that then it will do the work which its founder fondly hoped that it would do now. But that feeling must be brought up to the point at which the usefulness of such institutions will begin, by means which these institutions do not provide. We are happy to be able to say that after falling off considerably, the attendance is now slowly but steadily encreasing.

II. *Orphan Homes.*—We have now to pass to the examination of another class of institutions; and we cannot better do so than by resuming our brief sketch of Mrs. Wilson's procedure. We gather from Mrs. Chapman's narrative, that almost from the opening of the Central School, Mrs. Wilson, from time to time, had girls made over to her. One widow, through the pressure of poverty, desired to be freed from the burden of maintaining her daughter; another, having a child at the point of death with cholera, brought her to the school in order to get medicine, and on her recovery, made her over to those who had been instrumental in saving her life; a third girl having embraced Christianity, and been cast out by her relatives, sought and found refuge in the Central School; others having been left destitute by the death of their parents, had recourse

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to the same refuge. Thus, in various ways, a considerable number of destitute children were brought under the care of Mrs. Wilson, so that ten years after her arrival, (as we understand Mrs. Chapman's statement, which is not quite clear,) or four years after the opening of the Central School, she had twenty girls under her care, who were lodged, fed, clothed and educated, and for whose support she depended upon the special subscriptions of her friends. The inundation of 1832-3, and the famine produced by the destruction of crops, and the pestilence engendered by the malaria evolved on the subsidence of the waters, made many childless parents, and many orphan children. Of the latter, the orphan girls, it was Mrs. Wilson's privilege to rescue many, and the blessings of those that were ready to perish came on her. Mrs. Chapman's account of the matter will interest our readers.

The visitation, to which we have alluded, marked the years of 1832-33 as peculiarly disastrous. The greater part of Lower Bengal was inundated, and the crops destroyed; thousands were swept away, and whole districts were depopulated by want and disease. The time for exertion was at hand. Mrs. Wilson had no mistrust as to the needful support being provided, and in a general appeal to the Christian public, made known her readiness to receive one hundred orphans. Confidential persons, under the direction of a Catechist, were despatched to the most distressed districts south of Calcutta, with food and clothing, to rescue the unfortunate; a service of no small danger, for they were all more or less attacked by the fever arising from the state of the country. Many children were saved, but in such a degree of exhaustion, that comparatively few were brought home. The boats were exposed to great peril, and one was totally lost, when a poor widow with two little girls were drowned: a quantity of cloth and rice destined for the poor sufferers, formed part of the lading. The Rev. T. Sandys, the resident Church Missionary at Mirzapore, received the boys; and such was the state of disease and destitution in which the women and children were brought to the institution, that in the opening, it was more resembling an hospital than the well-ordered asylum for education, &c., which it was shortly destined to become. It must not however be supposed that even such a work as this was to meet with the ready countenance of the people, however distressed; there were bad characters making an open traffic for female children; and where no money was given, but the simple motive of charity avowed, there were difficulties to be encountered from natives of the district vested with any authority. Events were, however, mercifully over-ruled, and great relief was effected, establishing an example, which, in the North West Provinces during the late famine, has been eminently blessed to the relief of the poor, and the increase of Orphan Asylums. Although unwilling to shock the feelings of our readers by an attempt to give a minute description of the pictures of misery which these poor children presented, it is essential to explain that none but such as were really considered to be perishing were taken in.

As the inundation of the Lower Provinces in 1832 laid the foundation of Mrs. Wilson's orphan establishment, so the famine in the Upper Provinces in 1834 tended to rear it.

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Forty-two girls were sent from Allahabad, of whom thirty-nine arrived in life—but little more; for sixteen of them, or 41 per cent. died after their arrival. From various quarters the number of the orphans was increased, and we learn from Mrs. Chapman that in 1836 the number of children in the institution was 108. For them there was far too scanty accommodation in the Central School premises, which had never been designed for such a purpose; and there were other reasons also why Mrs. Wilson wished to remove them from the Central School. "For several years, says Mrs. Chapman, it had been foreseen, 'that the spiritual welfare of the children called for a more 'distinct separation from the heathen, than could possibly be 'attained in the city of Calcutta, surrounded by a dense popula-'tion." We believe we may add that Mrs. Wilson had found, by painful experience, the disabilities under which the Central School system necessarily laboured, from the irregularity of attendance of the girls, and their premature removal from the school; and that, without wishing that the system of day-schools should be abandoned, or less vigorously prosecuted, she felt that she should have a more suitable field for the exertion of her own influence, and the out-putting of her energies, in an institution where the girls should be more completely under her control. She accordingly took steps for procuring the means necessary for the foundation of an orphan refuge. A site was procured at Agurpara, about five miles from Calcutta, and the means of raising a suitable building were not wanting, although they were supplied from day to day in such a way as to test the faith of the energetic founder. To this station Mrs. Wilson (now a widow) retired with her charge in October, 1836; and here she continued for several years, until a change in her religious views induced her to quit the Society with which she had been so long associated, and had labored so strenuously and so well.* She then came to Calcutta, and after a short interval returned to England, full of years and deserving of all honor, yet with her vigor unabated, and her strong mind as ardent as on the day when she first set foot on the plains of Bengal. We might wish that she had been destined to end her days amongst us, and to rest in the scene of her noble labors. But though an Indian sun may not shine upon her grave, her name will be long remembered as

* We hope the Church Mission Society may soon be able to make arrangements for resuming the operations at Agurpara, which were suspended shortly after Mrs. Wilson's departure. The buildings there are perfectly suited to the work for which they were intended. They were erected by Mrs. Wilson from funds collected for that purpose exclusively, and ought not to be alienated from the cause of Native Female Education without an equivalent compensation being made.

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that of one of the noblest of God's works exhibited on earth, an intelligent, large-hearted, Christian-souled woman. Long may it be ere that warm heart cease to beat ; and sure we are that till its last throb, it will vibrate to the thought of India and India's daughters. All honor to Mary Wilson !

We have been led to give our first attention to the Agurpara refuge, both because it is a fair specimen of this class of institutions, and because it sprang naturally out of the Central School, and forms a sort of connecting link between day-schools and boarding-establishments. But it was not the only one of its kind, nor even historically the first. In fact, some such institution had been almost of necessity grafted on nearly every mission. There were the children of Christian parents to be educated, and these were too thinly scattered among the villages to admit of their being educated effectively while they remained in their parents' houses. Then there were widows and orphans of Christians, who must be provided with a home. These generally formed the nucleus of a boarding school. And when such a school was once established, it often happened, especially in seasons of scarcity, that parents or widowed mothers brought their daughters, and entreated the Missionaries' wives to take them, and do with them what they would, asking in return only two or three Rupees to save them from impending death. Whatever scruples these ladies might have, or however their feelings might be shocked by the idea of thus purchasing children from their parents, their objections were generally stilled by the hint that there was another market, in which the dealers would not be so strait-laced, and that a *female* child will always bring its price. When the alternative was thus between prostitution and Christian education, we know not the Christian woman who would hesitate ; and we ought to say that we never heard any of these ladies charged with the use of improper means to procure children, or with accepting the children offered to them, when a sound discretion would have dictated their refusal. The magistrates too have gladly availed themselves of these establishments as a place of refuge for unprotected orphans who have been thrown upon their hands. A large number of such orphans are continually produced in the neighbourhood of the great resorts of pilgrims. Thousands of these pilgrims die every year in the neighbourhood of the shrines, and of course some of them leave children entirely unprotected. It is generally impossible to ascertain whence they came, and the magistrates must either protect them, or leave them to the tender mercies of the jackalls.

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Such institutions have, as we have said, been established all over the country, in connexion with the various Missionary bodies, and are generally superintended by the wives of the Missionaries. But there are two in Calcutta that require special mention, as having Missionaries specially set apart for their superintendence. They are those of the Established and the Free Church of Scotland. As early as 1838, Mrs. Charles, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Charles, then senior chaplain of the Scottish Church in Calcutta, had collected a few orphan girls, who lived in her compound, and were fed, clothed, and educated, we believe, at her own expense. Afterwards, on Mrs. Charles's leaving India, the orphans were transferred to Mrs. Macdonald, the wife of the late Rev. John Macdonald, one of the Missionaries of the Church of Scotland. A Society of Ladies in Scotland having been formed for the promotion of Female Education in India, we think it was in 1840 that their agent, Miss Laing, arrived in Calcutta, and assumed the superintendence of the orphans. Two years later, the numbers having considerably increased, she was joined by Miss Saville; and they two jointly superintended the institution till the "disruption" of the Scottish Church in 1843. The lady superintendents having taken different sides, we know that there was some misunderstanding as to the guardianship of the orphans; but we do not remember how it was settled. Our impression is, however, that the greater portion of the orphans were taken by Miss Saville, who remained in the establishment, probably, in consequence of the sort of "lien" that Mrs. Charles, who also held by the establishment, might be supposed to possess over them. Be this as it may, the two superintendents opened separate establishments, of precisely the same kind with that which had been under their joint charge.

These they continued to conduct with great vigor and good success, until, Miss Saville having been married, the Rev. J. W. Yule was sent out to take the superintendence of the institution in connexion with the Established Church; and somewhat later, Miss Laing having been obliged by failing health to return for a time to Europe, the Rev. J. Fordyce was sent to relieve her in charge of the Free Church Institution. Thus the two establishments have gone on *pari passu*, and they have both been the means of doing much good in a certain direction. At present they contain about fifty girls each. We can safely say that no one can visit either of them without feeling that they are serving an important purpose and doing much good. If in what follows, we say more of the one than of the other of these institutions, it is not because we wish to cast any

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disparagement on the one, but simply because we happen to be better acquainted with the other. We have been present repeatedly at examinations of the Free Church Institution, both while it was under Miss Laing's care and after it passed into Mr. Fordyce's hands, and we most heartily bear our testimony —whatsoever it may be worth—to the thoroughly efficient manner in which it has been conducted. In no part of the world, and in no kind of school—(and we have seen schools of many kinds in Europe, Asia and Africa, and also in the Mauritius, which we suppose is in none of these three divisions of the globe)—have we seen girls that seemed to have been more thoroughly taught the elements of a sound useful education.

It was in this Free Church Institution that the little girl Charlotte Green, the title of whose humble biography we have put at the head of the present Article, lived and died. It is a touching and instructive narrative, and although composed for the use of children, we need scarcely say, that what Dr. Duff was not ashamed to write, no one needs be ashamed to read.

We have selected this little book for notice, because it seems to us to shew clearly what institutions of this class can effect, and what they cannot accomplish. The poor girl whose "short and simple annals" are before us, was brought to Miss Laing by an old woman who would give no account of herself or the child. She was apparently about five or six years old, and was supposed to be probably of the Armenian race. She was a puny sickly child, that gave no promise of being a credit to any one, or of yielding any return for what might be done for her. The most probable supposition is, that she had been bought or stolen in her infancy by the old woman, who now wished to get rid of her, as she did not promise to suit the purpose for which she had designed her. When received into the institution, she was of course utterly ignorant; but "body, soul, and spirit" soon improved under the new regimen to which she was subjected. She soon learned to read, and having once acquired this power, having had this key of all knowledge put into her hands, she read all the books that she could procure, with avidity and with intelligence. Especially did she take delight in the reading of the Bible; that wondrous tale of the Saviour of the lost had a charm and an attraction for her which won her whole heart and pervaded her whole being. And the result upon her character was corresponding. After mentioning the delight she took in the duty (shall we call it, or rather the privilege?) of prayer, Dr. Duff proceeds:—

Many other traits of character might be specified, such as her love of

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truth and her abhorrence of lying—her rigid exactness in attending to the fulfilment of a promise—her uprightness in all her little dealings with the other children—her high-toned disdain of all those low, mean, and cunning arts, which, in this dark land, seem to sprout forth like the foul and rank luxuriance of a universal and hereditary disease—her gratefulness of heart on account of any, even the least, favor received,—her kindliness and obligingness of disposition—her diligence in her studies—her carefulness in attending to the minutest instructions or directions given to her, whether as regarded the improvement of her mind, the cleanliness of her person and dress, or the regulation of her manners; but [these and?] many other kindred traits I purposely pass by, without any special notice, though all contributing to render the character estimable and lovely.

After being about three years in the institution, this little girl sickened and died; and although there may be those who regard all death-bed joy, especially when manifested by a nervous girl of nine years old, as idle enthusiasm, yet we take leave to say that we know better than they. He who requireth of a Paul, a Luther, a Bacon, a Milton, a Newton, a Laplace, a Wellington, that they enter the kingdom of heaven as a little child, has often out of the mouth of babes and sucklings so perfected praise, as to shew that little children *have* entered into that kingdom, and have tasted of its joys, so as these great ones can taste them only in proportion as they become as little children. Some also may say that the early death of this girl was the natural consequence of the system pursued in her education, that a morbid state of the body was induced by the forcing of the mind into a premature and disproportionate development. That such errors are not impossible, that they have been often fallen into by injudicious parents and teachers, we by no means deny. We believe it and we deplore it. But we see no reason to believe that such error was committed in the case before us. On the contrary, we think it very probable that the girl was indebted to the system pursued in the institution for the prolongation of her life, that the seeds of death had been sown ere she became its inmate, and that, but for the healthful exercise of body and mind, and the careful tendence of which she was the subject, her death would have been still more premature than it was.

We have said that the history of Charlotte Green points out what these Orphan-Asylums can do, and what they cannot do. It is evident that they can do nothing *directly* for the introduction of female education among the people of the land. It is probable, as we have said, that this girl was not a native, in the sense in which that term is usually employed in this country. But this is of no consequence. Had she been a Brahmani or a Rajputni, it would have been all the same. The moment she entered the institution, she would have been as

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effectually severed from her people, as if she had gone to reside in another planet. If the female population of India be 80,000,000, and if a million of them were educated, and educated ever so well, in such institutions as this, the result would be the formation of two communities, consisting respectively of 79,000,000 of uneducated, and 1,000,000 of educated females, as thoroughly separated from each other as are the ladies of London from the ladies of Lahore; and this is, in all fair allowance, an utterly different thing from a single community, consisting of 79,000,000 of uneducated, and 1,000,000 of well educated persons. The simile of the leaven and the lump is inapplicable here, for the leaven cannot be brought into contact, not to say intermixture and penetration, with the lump. So much for the negative; now for the positive answer to the question. What then are these institutions doing, and what can they do, for the education of the females of India?

First, they can preserve, (as they have preserved many, and this poor girl amongst the number) some poor children from death, or from degradation, infamy and vice, and can train them up in the paths of virtue. They can deliver some from the darkness of heathenism, and enlighten them with the heavenly rays of the Gospel of Christ. If there be those who deem this a small matter, we can only say that they are wrong, all-wrong in their estimate of things. *Secondly*, they can provide educated wives for many Native Christians; and no one who is acquainted with the state and wants of the Native Christian community, (and others are not able to judge in the matter) will undervalue the magnitude of this boon. Some of these wives may be able, like the wife of the Missionary at Bansbaria, and of the teacher at Bali, to whom we alluded before, to conduct schools for the children of their poor neighbours, and thus to bring the leaven into contact at least with the outskirts of the lump. *Lastly*, some of the more promising pupils may be specially trained as teachers, and so may serve an important purpose in reference to the future; for we do believe that there is a time not far distant when teachers will be required in considerable numbers. We are glad to know that Mr. Fordyce has incorporated a Normal School department with the institution over which he presides, and we trust that its use will ere long appear. In this connexion too, we may notice the important influence that institutions for the education of females, other than native, might be made to exercise over the progress of the great work of native education. We should greatly like not only to see the Normal School prosecuting its good work with vigor, as it is doing, but also a

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Normal branch engrafted upon such charity-institutions as Mrs. Ewart's school and the European Orphan Asylum, and upon the various pay-schools, with the Young Ladies' Institution at their head. In the present state of things in India, all have a heavy responsibility laid upon them with respect to this, the great problem in India's future destiny; and all should earnestly consider what they can do in the way of preparation for its eventual solution.

III. *Domestic Education.*—We have seen that day-schools have done good, and that boarding and orphan establishments have done good; but that in so far as the object to be aimed at is to introduce a national system of female education, they have failed utterly. Now the causes of this failure have been pretty clearly indicated; but it will not be amiss to present them in a single view, for thus shall we see clearly at least what must be avoided, in order to the success of any scheme. We need scarcely say that we are not entitled to conclude that a system which is free from these causes of failure will certainly succeed; but we may be sure that one which involves them will certainly fail.

The cause of the failure of the orphan system is obvious, in the fact that it of necessity separates its subjects entirely from the community to which they previously belonged. The causes of the failure of the day-schools are not so obvious. But we believe them to be mainly these two; the want of any appreciation of education amongst the lower classes, and the unwillingness of the higher classes to send their daughters to a public school. In order that the full benefit may be reaped, either from male or female education, it is quite necessary that we should have educated wives for educated husbands. At present, the young men educated in our colleges and schools of the higher order, lose a great part of the benefit that they might derive from their education, from the fact of their being obliged to mate with ignorant wives; and in a tenfold degree the females who receive some education in the ordinary day-schools, lose the benefit of this education by their being married to uneducated husbands. Clearly the evil must be gradually removed, by making the education of males to penetrate deeper and deeper into the lower strata of society, and that of females to rise into the upper.

Moreover, until an appetency for knowledge for its own sake, be excited to a much greater extent than it has been hitherto, it is of infinite consequence that female education should be as much as possible invested with that kind of

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"respectability" which will give it a footing in the community. There is a sufficient stimulus given to the education of males by the prospect of lucrative employment.* We do not know how a similar stimulus can be given to the education of girls, unless by taking advantage of every portion of desire for it that may any-where exist, and gradually fostering it more and more. What is required is a beginning, a good beginning. Now we may reasonably expect, that the nascent desire for Female Education, if it exist any-where, will be found amongst the class who have profited by the good education afforded by our superior schools and colleges, that is, amongst the classes who, either from caste, wealth, official position, or some other cause, are regarded as the higher orders of the native community. It seems to us clear that, until a beginning is made amongst these classes, no step is taken towards the introduction of Female Education amongst the people.

It was, doubtless, some feeling of this kind that induced Mr. Bethune to make that noble effort, to which we have attempted to do something like justice. He was right as to the end; but wrong as to the means. Rightly or wrongly, there is amongst the classes for whom this school was designed, and to whom its benefits were by express statute confined, such a dislike to publicity in respect of all matters in which the ladies of their families are in any way concerned, that they will not send their daughters to a public school. This is the main case of the failure, or very limited success, of Mr. Bethune's enterprise. The beginning of national Female Education *must* be among the higher classes, and that beginning *must* be by means of domestic instruction. We may regret this feeling; we may regard it as a groundless prejudice; we may lament that there is not a determination to do justice to the females of India, strong enough to overbear such prejudice. But we must deal with it as an existing fact; and a fact which cannot be altered until female education have made considerable progress. If then we were shut up to the exclusive use of public education, we should be reduced to the conclusion that the prejudice cannot be removed until the females be educated, and that the females cannot be educated until the prejudice be removed. From this

* It is impossible to predict what influences may come to work for the helping on of a good cause. We have just heard that several female schools have been founded in the district of Jessore, and that this movement has been entirely spontaneous on the part of the babus, the impelling motive being the desire that their wives and daughtgrs may be able to write to them, and let them know the various incidents that occur from day to day, while they are absent from home.

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dilemma the only hope of deliverance is held out by domestic instruction.

It may seem strange, when so many thousands of young men have received so good an education in the Government and Missionary schools and colleges, that they should not have done more than they have done to communicate to their sisters, and wives, and daughters, the benefits that they have had conferred on themselves. And strange it is; but perhaps not so much so as to those less intimately acquainted than we happen to be, with the state of matters in the families to which these educated young men belong, might appear. The power of the elder ladies over the younger in the zenana is despotic. It would be deemed disgraceful for husband and wife to hold any intercourse during the day, and little could be done during an hour that might be stolen from sleep and devoted to instruction. Then there is amongst the elder ladies, who, as we have said, exercise unlimited sway over the younger, not only the usual dislike to all innovation on established usage, but there is, in reference to this matter particularly, a superstitious terror of early widowhood to the educated, or of some great calamity to befal the family into which female education may be introduced. Constituted as native families are, is it surprising that few young men should be able to stem the current of these adverse influences? Let our readers imagine the position of a young man in his family. He has, it may be, a grand-mother, a mother, two or three step-mothers, from a dozen to twenty aunts, and the wives of two or three elder brothers, all of whom take precedence of, and exercise more or less control over, his wife. However all these may squabble and quarrel about any thing or every thing else, the Macedonian phalanx did not stand more firmly man to man, than do they unite to frustrate any efforts that he may make to communicate instruction to his young wife. All day and every day they keep plying the poor girl with arguments, threats, entreaties and promises. Why should she bring disgrace upon that respectable family into which she has been admitted? Why should she bring upon herself widowhood—in all countries a heavy and sore trial, in this a veritable curse? And then she shall have all kinds of indulgences if she will set herself resolutely to baulk her husband's foolish and unkind design—foolish, because it is vain to think that he can ever succeed in making a scholar of a lady—unkind, because if he did in any degree succeed, the result would infallibly be to convert the woman into a man and a pundit, and between two men there can be no conjugal love! Wearied and worn out, agitated and frightened

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by this incessant persecution, the poor girl meets her husband at the hour of retirement. The book is produced, and an attempt is made upon the alphabet—a vain attempt. The young lady will not learn—the husband is fretted and disappointed. There is every likelihood of that alienation of affection from the failure of the experiment, which the old ladies predicted as certain to occur from its success. The experiment is persevered in for a week or a month, and then given up in despair.

If this be a true picture—and we can vouch for its substantial truth—our readers may cease to wonder that so little has been done, and begin to be surprised that aught has been done at all. But *has* aught been done in this way? Yes, something to our knowledge, and probably a good deal more beyond the circle of our cognizance. A favorable instance is afforded by Mr. Storrow's simple narrative, whose title we have prefixed to our Article. The sight of two brave human hearts, struggling for a good end, against such difficulties as are feebly described in the preceding paragraph, is one which none but the depraved can contemplate without vivid interest and emotion. To our thinking, there cannot be a finer test of a noble mind than that which is presented by the obstacles opposed to such a course, and if these pages should fall under the notice of any ingenuous youth, who has hitherto shrunk back from the encounter, we would earnestly counsel him to make the attempt, with firmness, tempered with judgment and kindness. Let him set out with the conviction that there must be some way of attaining success, and if once and again he fail in discovering that way, let him not be discouraged, but try again. May we also be permitted to suggest to those gentlemen who are at the head of our educational institutions, that they may do much to animate and encourage their pupils to make a beginning in this work. If the Government-school teachers are precluded from inculcating aught inconsistent with the Hindu religion, the prohibition does not extend to this subject, for it has been formally and officially declared by the Governor General in Council, that indeed "the general practice is to allow them [female children] 'to grow up in absolute ignorance; but this custom is not 'required, or even sanctioned, by their religion." To those Missionaries who, from their connection with educational institutions, come much into contact with the educated young men, we need not even suggest how usefully their important influence may be exercised in this direction.

But, after all, education is a profession; and as the division of labor is found to be profitable in all other departments, so

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will it be in this. While, therefore, husbands may in many cases instruct their wives, brothers their sisters, and fathers their daughters, we believe that those who can afford it would do well to engage the services of qualified governesses. These ladies would have advantages that members of the family can scarcely possess, in disarming opposition. They will moreover impart their instructions in the course of the day, while the minds and bodies of the pupils are fresh and vigorous, instead of the evening, when both are fagged and worn out. And most of all, there are certain branches of Female Education which ladies alone can be expected to be able to impart.

With respect to this scheme of domestic instruction, we confidently believe two things;—*first*, that it is absolutely necessary ;—*second*, that it will succeed if fairly tried.

The necessity of it depends upon the indisputable facts that the higher classes in this country will not permit the ladies of their families to attend public schools; and that education can make little progress among the lower classes, until it gain a footing among the higher. These we hold to be facts indisputable. We may regret them or may not; but they are facts, and we must take account of them in laying our plans. The necessity then we hold to be established without argument.

And this will be the proper place to notice how all the existing agencies will derive a mighty enhancement of power from the introduction of this agency. When education thus gets a footing amongst the higher classes, it will begin to be appreciated throughout the community. Such schools as Mr. Bethune's and the Central School will then be resorted to, and village and zillah schools will be established all over the country, without such obstacles being thrown in their way as those that threatened to frustrate the good intentions of the people of Baraset. The orphan establishments, and such schools as Mrs. Ewart's, will supply assistant Governesses, and such establishments as the Normal School and the Young Ladies' Institution, will supply Governesses, superior in some respects, such as knowledge of the native language and habits, to any that could be imported from Europe. The Societies too that have been organized in Europe for advancing the work of Female Education, will be required to lend their aid for a time, in selecting and sending out Governesses, and in providing homes for them while here. The whole operations would need to be under the superintendence of a gentleman, who would find a noble field for exertion.

But, after all, the question recurs—what ground have we for supposing that the plan would succeed? We are not

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so thoroughly opposed to theory, that we consider a plan necessarily bad, because it is untried. Every plan must be theoretical before it can be practical, else we should be reduced to a system of mere empiricism. But we are happy to be able to say that our plan is not altogether untried. Several native gentlemen have, from time to time, employed Governesses in their families, and the result has been such as to afford grounds for sober hope that systematic efforts in this direction would not be unrewarded. In some cases a good elementary education has been imparted; in others, failure has ensued from such obvious causes, that the failure is only a lesson for the future. One such instance we may mention, and although we only heard the story in conversation many years ago, yet we believe we may vouch for the substantial accuracy of the narrative. A babu in Calcutta had engaged a Governess, a European lady, to instruct the ladies of his family. For some time all went on smoothly and pleasantly, till in an evil hour the Governess took with her a lady of high rank, who was well known for her skill in the use of the pencil. While the lessons were going on, she occupied herself in making portraits of the interesting pupils. These she took home with her and shewed to her husband. A few days afterwards the husband met the babu in an auction-room, or some place of public resort, and in a bantering tone hailed him with some such address as this: "Ah! babu, how are you? I saw a picture 'of your wife the other day. A fine girl she is, and a lucky 'old fellow are you to have such a good-looking young wife!" Next day the Governess received notice that her attendance was no longer required. Thus has many a fair vessel gone down in smooth water, through the bungling stupidity of an incompetent pilot. A failure of this kind, when its cause is so palpable, makes nothing against a scheme. No plan can succeed unless it be worked with a moderate degree of skill and common sense; and this scheme will not succeed, unless the spirit of "lionizing," and some other evil spirits besides, be exorcised from the minds of those who may be intrusted with its practical working.

This is not with us a new subject. More than fifteen years ago the present writer propounded the necessity and possibility of a scheme of domestic instruction in a Calcutta periodical. At that time he submitted a series of questions to each of two persons, and published their answers at length. When we name Mrs. Wilson, of whom we have already said so much in the course of this Article, and the Rev. Kishna Mohun Bannerjya, we have said enough to show how strongly their

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opinions fortify our own, in so far as they coincide with it, and enough also to justify our transferring their answers to our pages. We therefore offer no apology for extracting their answers, as they were furnished to us and published in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, for March, 1840:—

QUESTIONS PROPOSED TO MRS. WILSON, WITH HER ANSWERS.

1.—*What do you suppose may be the whole number of Bengali females now alive that have received what may be called a tolerable education?*

I cannot venture an opinion.

2.—*What may be the number of females in Bengal actually at present under instruction?*

I know only of about 500 girls.

3.—*Have any of those females whom you have educated, afterwards sent their children to your schools, or to any other schools that you have known?*

Frequently mothers have come with their little girls, reminding us that they were taught in our schools themselves, and appearing delighted thus to renew the acquaintance.

4.—*If this has been the case, have you observed that these children of educated mothers have, from the encouragement given them at home, appreciated instruction more than others?*

The children come to school so very young, that their teaching begins with us, and, it may be, the parents are never known to us, or not till months after the daughter has been at school. The little girls are always brought to school and taken home by a person in whom the parents confide.

5.—*Have you ever known any instances of mothers and daughters being taught in the same school at the same time?*

In the small detached schools this has occurred, when the men had all gone out to their daily occupations; but the women soon lose their patience, and declare themselves *too old* to learn, though perhaps not twenty years of age.

6.—*If you have known such cases, state whether any jealousy seemed to exist on the part of the mothers of the attainments of their daughters; or if any system were introduced by which mothers and daughters should be taught at once, do you suppose, from your knowledge of the native female character, that such jealousy would result?*

Just the reverse, the parents appearing to consider it pretty much the same thing whether they or the children possess the learning, so that it be in the family; a poor mother will answer, "No, I cannot read, but my girl can." Or, "I cannot learn, it is too late for me, I have too much to do, but teach my daughter."

7.—*Have the goodness to state in general what have been the feelings of uneducated natives in regard to the education of their female relatives, and whether their opposition has been generally removed by witnessing its results, specifying at the same time any marked instances that may have come to your knowledge of the effect of Christian education commending itself to the approbation of the prejudiced, by improving the characters and dispositions of its subjects.*

I conclude native gentlemen have a jealous fear of their females ever occupying that rank or standing in society which Christian women do: they also dread their imbibing Christian principles; and they are *necessarily* too far removed from native Christian females to form any correct judgment of them.

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8.—*Supposing that at present, there is little or no desire on the part of the natives generally to procure good education for their wives, sisters and daughters, does it not seem to you that if such a desire were produced, the great obstacle in the way of its gratification would be the unwillingness of the higher class of natives to allow their females to leave their own apartments?*

Yes, the females MUST be taught in their own apartments; this is sure; and perhaps in their *present state* it is absolutely necessary.

9.—*How many females do you suppose may be on an average in one dwelling?*

Probably from ten to twenty females could be collected in large houses for instruction.*

10.—*Would a European lady be secure against annoyance in going regularly at a stated hour into the house of a native?*

Any little annoyance would be the result of ignorance, not design; and a foreign lady would take an elderly one of this country with her for some time, at least till matters were on a good footing.

11.—*Have the kindness to detail all that you know of what has been done in regard to* private *female education, stating whether the experiments have been made under favourable circumstances, and what have been the results?*

Coming out as I did to the lowest of the low, my ardent desire was, and still is, to teach the Bible to the *many* who had none to care for their souls, leaving the *few* in higher life to others. Still, whenever I have met respectable natives, I have always urged their duty, and my readiness to assist them, in this important work, and many a fair promise of *calling Committees* and consulting together, &c., &c., have been made, but which at the moment they had not the slightest intention of keeping,

Seventeen years ago a native gentleman asked for a "lady teacher" for his females; one went regularly for a few months; after which he called again on the gentleman to say he must give it up, as he could not bear the continual taunts he had to endure from Brahmans and other friends for allowing a Christian lady to enter his house.

Eleven years since another high family received instruction for above a year from a Christian female, when domestic affliction caused the family to withdraw from all Christian intercourse.

In both the above cases the females were most promising pupils and hearers.

12.—*In one word, knowing the obligation of Christian teachers to become all things to all men, and knowing the very peculiar position of women in India, do you or do you not think that a Christian Society, striving by the blessing of God to produce the greatest possible amount of ultimate good, would act wisely were they to expend a portion of their resources on a well-organized scheme for the domestic education of females?*

13.—*Favour me with any remarks that it may occur to you to make bearing on this subject.*

Oh! Dear Sir, the duty of Christians cannot for a moment be questioned; every lawful means should be tried. Would that only half the zeal were displayed for native female education, and half the money spent on it, by Christians, that has been spent on that of boys. Still it is, and will long continue to be, eminently a work of faith. The female may be taught, may believe and be saved; and the Christian teacher is satisfied, but not so the world; it has given money for the cause, and must *see*

* We believe that a very much larger number could be collected in many houses, were the desire for female education to become general.—*Ed. C. R.*

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what is done. Pardared females must not only be taught privately, but nothing on the subject should appear in print.

QUESTIONS PROPOSED TO THE REV. KRISHNA MOHAN BANERJEE, WITH HIS ANSWERS.

1.—*Do you not think that it is impossible to bring the greater proportion, including all the higher classes of Hindu females, to attend public Christian schools ?*

I do not think the respectable classes of the Hindus will at present suffer their females to attend any public school where pupils may be indiscriminately received, without consideration to caste and creed. Even if any solitary individual may feel a desire of doing so, still the tone of society, which would pronounce his conduct *as ungenteel*, if not impious, is likely to deter him from such a step.

2.—*While this is to be partly attributed to the fact that the same wordly advantages do not attend the instruction of females that are seen to follow the education of males, is it not also, in a great degree, attributable to the dislike of suffering the females to leave their own apartments ?*

The fact of a liberal education being, as it were, lost upon their women in the estimation of the Hindus, owing to the absence of any pecuniary advantages to be looked for therefrom, will of course continue long to indispose the natives to female instruction. The alacrity with which they allow, and the importunity with which they seek, the education of their boys, are evidently based upon mercenary motives. Their desire to teach male children is the consequence of the prospect which knowledge opens of wealth and honor ; and since their girls cannot enter into any sphere of active labor in the world, they do not feel any incentive towards their education. Besides this absence from their minds of a sufficient motive to this important work, there is also the presence of positive aversion to it, caused by the customs and notions which prevail among them. Although they do not forbid their girls of a tender age to appear in company, yet their marriage, which usually takes place between the years of eight and ten of their ages, generally puts an interdict upon this freedom, and it is considered disreputable for a married woman to make her appearance in public. This sentiment will for a long time baffle every effort that may be made to educate them in public.

3.—*Supposing the present indifference as to female education got over, would not this custom of secluding the females present an almost insurmountable barrier to their instruction in public ?*

The custom of secluding the females must undoubtedly prove an obstacle to public female education, inasmuch as no Hindu can suffer his wife or his grown-up daughter to be seen indiscriminately by any person without incurring the displeasure of his fraternity, and entailing much odium upon himself.

4.—*Do you suppose that at present, but for this custom, any considerable number of the respectable natives would permit their female relatives to be educated ?*

Many Hindus of respectability are, I know from personal observation, very desirous in the abstract of instructing their females. They see the palpable benefits which education has conferred upon their Western sisters, and often wish they could boast of such accomplished wives and daughters as those of their European neighbours. So that I think many would instruct the female sex, if their reputation and perhaps caste were not at stake. But as female improvement would materially increase their expense, (because they would lose to a certain extent many servants and

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hand-maids, if their wives and daughters were capable of higher employment, and disrelished the drudgery of the house,) I cannot say to what length their insufficient salaries may not teach them the policy of keeping their women down for fear of swelling their expense. In proportion, however, as the Government and the Europeans may breathe greater liberality of feeling towards the Hindus, and discontinue the un-Christian and inhuman practice of putting lower value upon native, than upon European labour, even when both are equally useful and efficient, the cause of female emancipation must be on the advance, and keep pace with the general progress of knowledge and civilization.

5.—*For this purpose would they be willing to admit English ladies into their houses, their services being tendered gratuitously ?**

I conceive there will be no difficulty in persuading many natives to accept the blessing of education for their women, when these shall be offered within their own doors. Few are so grossly insensible to the benefits of knowledge as not to confer them upon their *daughters*, if they can do so at home without any expense to themselves ;—though I am not sure whether they will allow their *wives* to reap those advantages. In addition to the indifference which will be caused in their minds from the little hope that they will have of educating persons that have grown wild for fifteen or sixteen years, the great disadvantages under which a wife labours under her husband's roof while the elderly branches of the family are alive, must prove obstacles to the cultivation of her mind.

6.—*Same as No.* 10 *of questions proposed to Mrs. Wilson.*

If the lady referred to in this question did not go indiscriminately to any family without knowing something in the first instance concerning the character of the people into whose house she went, she could certainly be secure against annoyance. Besides, the natives have a degree of respect for European ladies, which would always deter them from any impudent or inhospitable act ; and it is only in very rare and exceptionable cases that any annoyance may be experienced.

7.—*If a number of influential natives would give their countenance to a scheme for private education, do you think their example would materially influence the lower classes to send their daughters to schools ?*

Such appears to be the growing feeling in favor of female education, that I think a few examples of the kind alluded to in the question will be very extensively followed among the Hindus ;—and the middling classes will then gradually wax bold, and venture to send their girls to school. The lower classes (that is, those who are not much under the bonds which society imposes, and whose poverty and degradation render them invulnerable so far as infamy is concerned), are in the habit even now of sending girls to school upon the presentation of sufficient motives, such as a few pice or other *bakshis* being occasionally given to the children.

8.—*State whether you know of any instances in which domestic education has been tried, whether the experiments have been made under favourable circumstances, and what have been the results ?*

I remember one or two of my own acquaintances, who had successfully conducted the education of their wives in the Bengali language by teaching them privately in the night. I know also the case of one nearly related to me, who failed in a similar endeavour. The circumstances under which such attempts were made were by no means favourable or

* Our notions on this point have considerably changed since this was written. Education should never be gratuitous when the parents can afford to pay for it.—Ed. *C. R.*

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auspicious. While the other women in the family railed at every idea of education, the wife of an enlightened husband, could scarcely venture to act according to his better advice; and therefore the success in the two cases above-mentioned was extraordinary, but the failure in the other instance was natural. I know that many are deterred from attempting to teach their wives privately from the little prospect of success that is before them. The case of a lady visiting and instructing in the day, with permission from the master of the house, would be different from those that I have just adverted to, since the respect which such a lady will command must protect the learner from the scoffs of her friends, at least for several hours in the day.

9.—*Same as corresponding No. of Mrs. Wilson's questions?*

The number of females in each family is on the average about six or eight, including grown up and elderly women.

10.—*State in general what would be your views regarding a plan for sending a number of well-qualified female teachers from Europe for the purpose of teaching native females in their own houses.*

I should think if a number of well-qualified European females could be procured for the purpose of instructing the Hindu women in their own houses, they would succeed under God in doing a very great work. The tutoresses, however, would have to undergo a deal of fatigue, and put up with many inconveniences, owing to the diversity of habits and manners between the Europeans and the natives.

11.—*Favour me with any other remarks that may occur to you on the subject in general.*

No experiment of the kind having ever been tried in this country, it is undoubtedly the duty of European Christians not to leave it untried, and to offer knowledge and instruction in the very houses of their heathen sisters, since they will not be persuaded to come out of doors. The only difficulty appears to be on the score of expense; but considering how much the European community is indebted to this country, whence they are drawing so much of gold and silver, and where they exercise as it were a lordly supremacy, I have no hesitation in saying that they owe it to the natives, even upon moral considerations, to instruct and enlighten their sons and daughters; and, as in other efforts, so in this, of educating Hindu females, every civil and military officer, every merchant and tradesman, in short, every individual that has found his residence in India a source of temporal profit and earthly aggrandizement, ought to give from a sense of duty whatever aid and encouragement he can.

12.—*If convenient, talk over the subject with some of your Hindu friends, and detail to me their sentiments on the subject, particularizing how far you suppose, from your knowledge of the native character, that they will be prepared to act up to the sentiments which they may express to a Christian minister.*

I have often had occasion to talk on the subject with several Hindu friends, and they seemed mostly anxious to improve the minds of their females. But not being in possession of any feasible plan whereby to attain their object, and being restricted by prevalent custom from sending women out of doors, they generally give up the idea of their education as chimerical and fanciful. But I am decidedly of opinion, that a goodly number would gladly accept the services of a lady, if they could get them free of charge within their doors.

Emboldened by these opinions, which in the main, are confirmatory of our own, we ventured in 1840, though

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then little acquainted with the circumstances of the country, to write pretty nearly as we have written now. So far as we know, the idea was but coldly received by those interested in the matter, mainly on the ground that the time had not come for its being embodied in action. This might be so; though we were not convinced then, and are not convinced now, that it was so even then. We thought then, and we think now, that it was worthy of a fair trial; and we cannot persuade ourselves that if it had been fairly tried even then, it would have utterly failed. But it is of no use to discuss this question now. Some one, we think, has said in substance, that a good idea has salt in it, and will keep. And this idea has kept, and has only lately been taken up and embodied in practical application, by Mr. Fordyce, who has supplied Governesses, the assistants in his own institution, to three or four native gentlemen, who cheerfully pay at a fair rate for the instruction of their families. The experiment is being fairly tried, and hitherto it promises to succeed admirably.* Sure we are, that all who care for aught else than self, will heartily desire its extension and its complete success. Following the advice of Mrs. Wilson, of which we heartily approve, we shall not indicate the gentlemen who have so nobly broken through the restraints of vicious custom and prejudice, and taken the lead in a movement which, whether now or at a later period, is destined to be one of the greatest and the most important of which India has ever been the theatre. But we venture to predict regarding them, that although their names may not be mentioned now, they will be mentioned with reverence and gratitude in many a happy home, when a graceful and accomplished womanhood shall cast its bright, soft, cheerful, vivifying radiance over the face of a renovated Indian society.

And now in conclusion, we would earnestly press this matter on the best attention of our native readers. We cannot say that we do not think them, and the class to which it may be presumed that they mainly belong, blame-worthy regarding this matter. They have not fulfilled the reasonable expectations of those to whom they are themselves indebted for the blessings of a good education. These might surely have expected, and they did expect, that they would have done more than they have done for imparting a share of these blessings to those nearest and dearest to them. We

* Since this was in type, we have learned with much satisfaction, that Miss Turner, the Superintendent of the Bethune school, has just begun to devote a portion of her spare time to this department of work, and with a fair prospect of success.

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know the difficulties, and in this article we have not attempted to extenuate or disguise them. But we know also the potency —we had almost said the omnipotence—of earnestness and steady perseverance to bear down all opposition, and triumph over all difficulties. The thing must be done. The females of India must be educated; and the education must begin with the members of the families of the educated males. Will the present generation consent to wear the reproach of handing down to the next a debt which they themselves are bound by all laws of honor and humanity to pay? Will they shrink back in craven fear or Sybaritic indolence, from a task, confessedly difficult, but which duty and interest conspire in imposing on them? We trust better things of them. We have never flattered them, nor will we do so now. But we have often stood up in their defence when they have been assailed by those who have seen their too patent defects, and have not made allowance for their peculiar temptations. Will they not at once silence their accusers and strengthen their advocates by setting in right earnest about this good work?

But, they say—*the time has not yet come.*—Nor will it ever come, so long as they wait for it. But come it will, whenever they will consecrate their best energies to the cause. If they wait on, the time, in so far as they are concerned, will pass away, and they will have to bear the foul reproach of inertness in a cause which ought to summon forth their noblest energies.

But, say they again,—*the introduction of Female Education would revolutionize the habits of our country.*—It would unquestionably. But do these habits not require to be revolutionized? Have they any desire to go back to the "good old times" and the good old ways, and the good old laws of Menu, which would subject nine-tenths of them to the pleasant experiment of having melted lead poured into their mouths and ears? If they have profited by a revolution of national habits, will they be so selfish as to prevent the other sex from sharing in the blessing? But it ought to be remembered that the revolution would be a gradual and a peaceful one. As in the great works of nature, so in this; all things will go on harmoniously and well. It may be true that in the present state of native society there is no place for educated females, but there will be, when the females are trained to occupy their legitimate place.

A good deal of the idea which gives rise to the objection, proceeds on a mis-apprehension, in which we notice that our friend, the Rev. K. M. Banerjya, shared in 1840. The common opinion of the end of Female Education that we find to

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prevail among our native friends, is, that it is intended to raise up a race of literary and scientific ladies, who will be disqualified for all social and domestic duties. There could not be a greater mistake. Female Education in England has produced but one Miss Edgeworth, and one Caroline Fry, and one Hannah More, and one Mrs. Somerville in many generations: and we should be quite contented were the scheme that we now propose to issue in the production of a class of intelligent, large-minded wives and mothers, though it did not, in the course of a thousand years, produce a single specimen of a *learned* lady. And even in reference to the last-named lady, it ought not to be forgotten that it has been said of her that she is equally at home in calculating the aberrations of a comet, and in mending her husband's stockings! There is nothing that a lady ought to be required to do, that an educated lady will not do as well or better than an uneducated one.

But once more they say—*if we admit Mr. Fordyce's Governesses into our families, what security have we that our female relations shall not become Christians?* And is the religion of the most civilized portion of the world, the religion of Europe, of England, of England's queen, that model of lady-like accomplishments, so great a bugbear? There is a prevailing opinion in certain quarters that such is the state of native manners that a European lady going to a native gentleman's house from day to day, would not be safe from annoyance or something worse. This opinion having been expressed to Mr. Fordyce, we stood guarantee to him that, if a reasonable discretion were exercised in the selection of the families into which the Governesses should be sent, they would be perfectly safe from every semblance of danger; and so will we stand guarantee to our native friends on behalf of the Governesses, and will engage that they will not take undue advantage of the influence which, it is to be expected and desired, they will acquire over their pupils, but that they will wisely and judiciously impart a sound education to the best of their ability. There must be a mutual confidence between the Governesses and their employers. There must be no promise of compromise on the one side, there must be no system of *espionage* on the other. We will not conceal the fact, that our own earnest desire is that India were thoroughly Christianized, and that we regard Female Education as an important means towards that end, and we would ask our native readers and friends, whether there be one amongst them all who will deny that this would be a mighty improvement on the present state of things.

Now we have done. We have throughout written soberly

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and temperately, and we leave the matter in the hands of those whom it most concerns, in the sure confidence that what we have written will commend itself to their calm judgment. Had our desire been to get up a temporary excitement, we might have infused some amount of *furor* into our style, the result of which might have been to give rise to declamation on the part of others, and haply to elicit a few panegyrics on our own eloquence. But in this matter we desire action. Of declamation we had already had enough and more. A great work is to be done, a work that will not be done in a day, in a year, in a generation—a work that will require to be prosecuted with calm, steadfast, inflexible determination. Great is the work; glorious will be the reward.

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ART. IV.—*Kshitisha Bansávali Charitam. A Chronicle of the Family of Raja Krishna Chandra, of Navadwipá, Bengal. Berlin*, 1852, *pp.* 155.

THE Germans are men of wonderful research, whether we consider their labours in the departments of Physiology, Metaphysics, History or Chemistry—but in nothing do we see it more conspicuously than in the fact that, without the aid of pandits, but guided solely by their own philological acumen, they have launched successfully on the sea of Sanskrit literature, and have certainly yielded us from it many articles valuable for history, manners and religion. One German has published *Jagynavalkya's* valuable abridgment of Hindu law, with a German translation; another gives us the *Vrihatkatha*, a series of curious national tales, with a German translation. Another German, Boehtlink, is issuing at the present time, from St. Petersburgh, the most elaborate Sanskrit Lexicon that has ever been given to the world. But the Germans are not the only people who, without any special connexion with India, are threatening to leave England behind in Oriental studies. Even Denmark sends us a profound work on Sanskrit roots; and America, with her young blood, is entering on the same field of Oriental research.

The work we undertake to notice is another specimen of German research. The late Sir R. Chambers, Chief Justice in Bengal, had purchased a large number of Sanskrit MSS., which his widow took to England and offered for sale to the British Government, but they declined the offer. The king of Prussia then purchased them, and this is one of them. It contains the Sanskrit text, with an English translation and notes. So little is known of the past history of Bengal, except from Persian sources, that this book is a very acceptable addition to our local histories. It bears about it the air of *vraisemblance*. We have found upon enquiry in the Krishnaghur district, that the native traditions there correspond with it. The history begins its account about the year 1,000, with the settlement of Kanauj brahmans in Bengal; we have then notices of the rise of the Nuddea family, and their connection with the Moslem Sovereigns, with glimpses here and there of the relations subsisting between the Hindu Rajas and the Musalman Viceroys.

We have read through the original Sanskrit itself, and here present an analysis of the contents, with occasional notes.

The author begins with stating that he is to celebrate the race of

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Bhattanáráyan (the ancestor of the present Nuddea Raja) which is to destroy the rust of the Kali Yug. Adisur, King of Gaur, who had expelled the Budhists from Bengal, alarmed at the omen of a vulture alighting on his palace, by the advice of a Kanauj brahman invited five brahmans from Kanauj to avert the omen by sacrifices, A. D. 999. One of these brahmans was Bhattanáráyan, the son of the King of Kanauj: the King was disgusted at seeing the brahmans in leather shoes, and needle-sewed garments, with lips betel-stained—he therefore pretended to be asleep and they could not see him; the brahmans on this, by incantations, made a wrestler's stick to send forth buds; the King next day hearing of this, and fastening his clothes round his neck, went to deprecate the wrath of the brahmans, who forgave him, adding, however, that their wrath could reduce him and his city to ashes. The vulture was sacrificed, and the King built five cities for those brahmans and their families; and Bhatta, the son of a famous King in Kanauj, having pleased the King, he offered him villages. The other would not take as a present villages filled with cows, gold, iron, sesamum, as being an unsuitable present for a brahman, but he purchased at a low price villages where his descendants for eleven generations ruled tax-free.

A quarrel took place among Bhatta's sons for sovereignty, and Mahmud of Gizni having just conquered Delhi, they appealed to him: he was not able to decide at once: he then required tribute, only one, however, Vishvanath, paid it, he in consequence was selected as Rájá; after him his sons succeeded to the rule, and after them Kásináth. But elephants being sent as a present from the King of Tripura to the Emperor Akbar, one of them on the road strayed away, and was killed by Kásináth; on this the Emperor enraged sends an army to take Kásináth prisoner and carry him to Jamhagir or Dacca—Dacca was at that time the capital of Bengal. Kásináth fled to the banks of the Bhagirathi, and at the village Anduliya seeing some fish, and having no money, he pledged his gold-ring to purchase them: sometime after Moslem soldiers coming up and seeing the ring on a fisher-woman, found out who owned it—they took the King prisoner while bathing; after this, the Governor of Dacca on hearing him one day repeating the names of Bhagavan, in a rage had him killed.

Kásináth's wife bore a son named Ram, one of whose sons, Durgadas, being one day at Ballabhpur city* to witness the games—the

* Can this be the village of Bhallabhpur on the Bhairab, in the Krishnaghur district? There are still the remains of a wide road which ran from Bhallabhpur to Krishnaghur. Certain it is that the river Bhairab there was formerly almost as wide

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attendants of Durgadas seeing a Musalman Governor on his way from Delhi pass there, fled in alarm, but Durgadas shewed such thorough knowledge of the localities, in giving the particulars of the route to Hugly, that he was invited to Hugly, where he studied Persian, and received from Delhi the title of Bhavánanda Majumdar. He built a palace after this at Ballabhpur. At this time there were twelve Bengal Rajahs exempt from taxes; the chief among them was Pratápaditiya, wealthy, famous; eleven were compelled by the Emperor's armies to pay tribute, but Pratápaditiya refused; the Governor of Dacca and Hughly informed the Emperor of his oppressions of the Zemindars, and of his keeping an army of 100,000 men, armed with leather shields, mallets and arrows, besides mad elephants, and that a young prince Kachu, whose father Pratápaditiya had killed, had to escape for his life to the forest. Akbar on hearing this, with lips swollen from anger, ordered Mán Sing to lead an army against Pratápaditiya. Mán Sing, laying the King's order on his head, marched on, the people of the villages running away as the armies advanced*—They came to Chapada, on the river banks; here Majumdar met Mán Sing, and taking off his signet ring from his fingers, gave it to Mán Sing as a mark of homage—after this the river was crossed on elephants, horses and boats, by Majumdar's aid. A tempest came on which detained them seven days, but Majumdar, being unable to celebrate the festival of the nuptials of the deities Lakshmi and Goverdhan, gave to Mán Sing's army and bards the provisions which had been accumulated for this festival: after seven days they marched for Pratápaditiya's city, but he fortified himself so strongly in a fort as to repel the enemy, but on the second attack the fort was taken: skirmishes took place between the armies for several days, at last Mán Sing, by the advice of Majumdar, made a charge with all his cavalry on Pratápaditiya, who had but few horsemen, he defeated them, took the Raja prisoner and put him into an iron cage to carry him to Delhi; but he died on the way to Benares. Akbar appointed Kachu, whom Pratápaditiya had tried to kill, the Governor of Jessore, while Majumdar was made ruler over fourteen districts, and fixed his

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as the Ganges, and formed probably the route by water from Delhi to Hugly; it is probable that a city might then be on its banks—there are still near the Church Mission House there the remains of a large temple and of an ancient road which extended to Krishnaghur. The native tradition is that the Rajas of Krishnaghur had pleasure and kachari houses at Bhallabpur: this is confirmed by the fact of Matiyari, so often mentioned in the Chronicle, being situated also on the Bhairab.

* This with other points in the narrative indicates what oppressions the Moslems exercised on the Hindus, and shews why the Hindus in various places adopted the practice of secluding their women,—though from the *Vrihat Katha* we can see there was much seclusion of women even before the Moslem invasion.

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residence in the palace of Ballabhpur, building palaces at Mátyári city and Deoliá village. The village Bábgwan, near Ballabhpur, was the birth-place of Majumdar, and here Mán Sing visited him on his march from Burdwan to Jessore, to put down Pratápáditiya.

After this the Governor of Dacca wishing to get Majumdar's territory, induced him to visit Dacca and imprisoned him there. Majumdar's son, Gopi Mohan, one day bathing at Dacca, saw a number of men with an elephant trying in vain to lift a stone out of the river for the worship of the goddess. Gopi Mohan did it with ease; the fame of this spread to the Governor, who sent for him, he repeated the feat; the Governor then told him to ask any favor he wished, he asked for the release of Majumdar, who had been chained in prison for not paying his tribute; this was granted, and Majumdar returned home.

Majumdar wished to divide his territory among his three sons, but the eldest refused to take a share, went to Delhi, and obtained a new grant. Majumdar died after twenty years' rule: the eldest son soon after died of small pox: his brother Gopal died, and the cleverest of his three sons, Rághav, was elected Raja. He erected in Reui,* a delightful palace, with two palaces towering like mountains to the east and west of it, and to the south a zenana surrounded with palaces: here he spent his time very pleasantly. After a time, the Governor of *Satsaika*† came to visit him, and remarked, "how can you live in your palace happily, you are an exile, 'while your zenanah is so distant, that you cannot hear the cries 'of children and tinkling of ornaments?" The Raja in consequence of this remark had the zenana pulled down, and another one built near his palace; in Madarna village also he built another palace, he was famous also for his almanacs and mystic songs.

At this time he dug a large tank in Krishnaghur, devoting 300,000 silver pieces to its dedication, and had an image of Siva placed in it. Brahmans from Anga, Banga, Maghad,

* Reui is Krishnaghur, and the palace is still standing, though in ruins; the palace is the residence of the Raja. The traditions in Krishnaghur, state, that Raghu, grandfather of Krishna Chandra, built it about 210 years ago, at a cost of 3,36,000 Rupees. The palace is now in a state of dilapidation, but bearing the traces of ancient greatness, and occupies about forty bigahs of ground.

† This must, we think, be Satgan, as the Governor is stated to have been on very friendly terms with him, which implies neighbourhood, and we have no account of any city with a name similar to this. Satgan was then getting into "the sere and yellow leaf." The capricious Hughly was abandoning it, as it may one day Calcutta, while the Portuguese were drawing off its trade to Hughly. Gladwin states "Satgang was formerly a very considerable city, and the residence of the Faujdar and other officers of the Government: but having been very much impaired by the encroachments of the river, they removed to Hughly, which soon became a very flourishing city."

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Kalinga and Kasi were invited; oceans of ghi, milk and honey were drunk, and even spirituous liquors. After this Rághav, for his punctuality in paying the tribute, received from the Emperor of Delhi a present of elephants; he erected at Nuddea a temple to Gonesh, and had half finished another to Siva, when he died, having ruled for fifty-one years.

Rudra Ray his son succeeded him. The Emperor of Delhi was so pleased with him, that he gave him the title of Maharaja, and allowed him to have a tower on the top of his palace. He gave to Reui village the name of Krishnaghur, in honor of Krishna, and because many herdsmen lived there, while he called Madurna village Shrinagar, from the number of lotus plants growing there.

A Moslem General once anchoring in the rains on the river banks near Rudra Ray's seraglio at Krishnaghur, his servants beat the Moslem servants off. A fight ensued, and some were killed; in consequence the Rajah stopped up the river and made a canal from north to south, connected with the trench that surrounded the palace. The Rajah not having paid tribute to Dacca for six years, he was arrested in Hughly by stratagem, and carried prisoner to Dacca; while there his servant had a quarrel with a shoe merchant about the price of shoes, in which Rudra Ray interfered and a fight took place; complaint was made by the shoe merchants to the Governor, but Rudra Ray bribed him with Rs. 100,000 and the case was dismissed. Rudra Ray then bought Rs. 10,000 worth of shoes and distributed them among the people, which brought him such praise that the Governor released him. He took an architect with him, Alá-bakhashan, to build the palace at Krishnaghur. He erected four palaces east of his own, at the lower story was a road wide enough for elephants and beasts of burthen to pass; over it was a story, and at the top a range of rooms variously adorned—there were also an elephants' stable, music hall, a temple of Durga, and a large seraglio. He made a road from Krishnaghur to Santipur, as high as a man, planted with fig trees at regular intervals on both sides.

Rudra Ray was a great devotee to the brahmans. Once at Dacca the Governor gave him among other presents a drum which he was to put on his shoulder and present to the Governor, but he refused as a brahman to do so. The Governor yielded to his scruples; as he did on another occasion, when he would wear a garment with three hems only, the Musalman etiquette requiring him to appear before the Governor with an embroidered garment covering all his person.

One day two brahmans came to the King to decide a dispute

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about a property called *Bhattácharjea*, near Mátiyari, but he found no property was left,—only the name, he then divided that, giving to one the name Bhatta, to another that of Acharjea!

One of Rudra Ray's sons, Ram Krishna, was famous as a great wrestler and great eater. One day sporting in the water he thrust back a thirty-two oared boat which was pulled with great force against him, the sailors were so astonished as to become petrified with astonishment like painted dolls. He built a hunting seat at Bhempur, and once killed a wild buffaloe with a blow of his mace, plucking out as trophies the horns with his hands. Wrestlers came from distant countries to contend with him, but were afraid. A Faujdar also came to Krishnaghur for the same purpose, and before him he plucked up a mango tree, five years old, by the roots. He went to Dacca, where his fame was great for wrestling and eating, but he refused to let the Prime Minister, because he was a Sudra, see him eating, even though he stood at a distance clad in a white robe. He mounted a fine horse, but his legs pressed so strong against the animal as to crush the horse's ribs and bones, and he fell dead. Ram Chandra rode only horses procured from Balk and Turkistan. He also pulled down the pillars of a house, and exhibited wonderful powers in eating.

Ram Chandra was not able to converse with pandits, and was disobedient to his father, therefore, at the latter's request, the Emperor of Delhi allowed him to nominate a successor. After a time Rudra Ray fell ill and goes to *Sukh Ságar* to view the Ganges, he was cured, but he again fell sick and went again to Sukh Ságar. While there he made provisions for his concremation by presents to brahmans; he was on his death-bed, and his anxiety was relieved by a boat laden with sandal-wood arriving from Hugly; then appointing Rámjivan, his younger son, his successor, he forsook life and attained absorption, calling on Ram's name, having half his body immersed in the stream of the Bhagirathi.

From Sukh Ságar* they returned to Krishnaghur, where a splendid feast was provided for the brahmans and princes of Anga, Banga, Magadh, Saurashtra, Káshi, Kánchi, where in a camp a koss in extent, they feasted ten days. On the eleventh took place the *Dán Ságar*, or present of vessels of gold, silver and

* Sukh Ságar was of note in Warren Hastings' time, who had a country seat there, to which he often retired from the turmoils and contentions of Calcutta society :, about 1760 there was a Silk factory there. Very probably the name *Sukh Ságar*, or the Ocean of Bliss, was applied to it, because it was another Ságar for the Rajahs of Kishnagur and Jessore, where they could bathe in the Ganges and enjoy the quiet of a river villa. It was situated in the vicinity of Hughly, which was, two centuries ago, a place of great trade and political importance.

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brass, of elephants and horses: 100,000 persons were fed. Before the assembled pandits Ram Chandra inquired how he was to be supported. He demanded Mátiyári village, the tank *Poyaldeha*, four horses and Rs. 10,000 annually for himself—his brother evaded making a reply. On this Ram Chandra mounted horse and rode to Hughly, laid the case before the Faujdar, who, struck with his heroism, represented the matter to the Dacca Governor, who, hereupon, ordered Ram Chandra to assume the rule, but as Ramjivan paid the taxes regularly, the matter was overlooked, though fights took place between the brothers for three years. Ramjivan getting into arrears, a Commissioner, Radhá Ballabh Ray, was sent to make enquiry; he took Ramjivan prisoner, who had previously sent Ram Chandra a prisoner to Dacca, and installed in his stead his younger brother Rám Krishna.

At this time Krishnaram, Rajah of Burdwan, plundered the capital of Sobha Sing, Rajah of Chatua; the latter, boiling with rage, marching along a forest road, crossed over the Damuda and came before Burdwan. The Rajah, not able to defend himself, sent away his son Jagat Ram, dressed in woman's clothes, to Krishnaghur, where he lived concealed at Mátiyári; to prevent his women falling into Sing's hands, he killed them with his own hand and then himself fell fighting. His daughter was taken by Sing as a mistress, contrary to the advice of his Ministers. He continued his conquests. Arungzib being engaged at that time in conflict with "the Southern barbarians," the English, sent his grandson Ajim-o-Saha, with an army against Sobha Sing; they had proceeded as far as Murshidabad, but the Burdwan Rajah's daughter, while Sobha Sing was sleeping with her in a state of helpless intoxication, drew a small sharp knife from her hair and stabbed him mortally in the belly.

Hemat Sing, Sobha Sing's younger brother, succeeded; he attacked the Raja of Krishnaghur, who routed his army as if it had been grass roots. After this, while Ajim Shah was encamped at Pálasi, Hemat Sing attacked a part of his army at Cutwa, and his General Neamat Khan, employed an elephant, which, with a sword in its trunk, destroyed numbers of the Moguls, they retreated; on this Ajim advanced from Palási and employing jingals (small cannon) against the Sings, they fled. After this Ajim remained to regulate affairs, the Rajas waited on him, some with folded hands, with garments hemless and without ornament, and others in mean attire, afraid of displaying their wealth.

But Ram Krishna came from Krishnaghur with a splendid retinue, which pleased Ajim Shah very much. After this Jafir

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Khan was anxious to injure Ram Krishna, but owing to the favor of Ajim Shah he could not. He ruled eleven years in Krishnaghur, but owing a great sum as arrears of tribute, he was allured to Dacca and imprisoned there, where he soon after died of small pox. He left no son or grandson to succeed, Ramjivan was then taken out of prison and appointed Raja; he ruled well, being also skilled in song, poetry, and dramatic exhibitions. Raghu Ram his son, a hero, and an excellent archer, soon after was at Murshidabad attending on his father, who, with other Rajas was imprisoned by Jafir Khan. At this time the Raja of Rajshahi revolted, Raghu Ram was sent with the army, and through his skill in archery saved them; he got high praise for this and also the release of his father.

In 1710 Raghu Ram's son was born: great joy arose: Rajas came from different directions to the ceremonies. A camp lined with cloth was erected one coss long by half a coss broad—the piles of food were beyond calculation; brahmans recited from the Vedas; philosophers disputed on the Mimanas and Nyaya; dancing women became slow through their great joy; sham battles took place. The earth shone with joy.

Raghu Ram succeeded after Ramjivan's death at Murshidabad; he was confined by Jafir Khan in Murshidabad, but even in jail he gave away land to the brahmans; afterwards he was released, and died on the banks of the Bhagirathi. His son Krishna Chandra succeeded in 1728, appointed Raja by the Governor of Murshidabad.

Thus ends our analysis of this work. The Sanskrit style is very plain; it abounds with anomalies and approaches to Prákrit. We have in Bengali a Life of Raja Krishna Chandra Ray, with the account of whose birth our chronicle ends; subsequent to that period we enter on the demesne of European history. But this chronicle leads us back to the misty past, and we shall make some cursory remarks in connection with it: the oldest account we have seen of an historical kind relating to Bengal, is the chronicle of Tripura, part of it written in Bengali four centuries ago,—the oldest specimen of Bengali writing we have extant, for the Life of the Reformer Chaitanyea is a century later.

Adisur ruled a short time previous to A. D. 1000, when Gaur was in its prime, "the glory of kingdoms," with its population of two millions, and its walls thirty miles in circumference and sixty-one feet high, now, like Rajmahál, a relic of the past; the chronicle states that Adisur invited brahmans from Kanauj, on account of the degeneracy of Bengal brahmans—the cause of that degeneracy, no doubt, was that they were infected with Buddhist

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notions, which at that period were dying out in Bengal, in consequence of brahminical persecution. Adisur, the founder of the Vaidyea dynasty was, probably, a new and zealous convert to Hinduism, as his predecessors in Gaur, the Pál Rajahs, were supporters of Buddhism, but the reason given in the Chronicle that the brahmans were not admitted to the King, because they came in "needle sewed" garments, does not accord with the statement of Rajah Radhakant Deb who, in his celebrated *Kalpadrum*, states they were rejected because of their warlike habiliments,—both may be probable—the brahmans, as the ruins of Sárnáth in Benares shew, used fire and sword to expel their ascetic Buddhist adversaries from their cloistered retreats, and very likely in opposition to the plain garb of the Buddhist priests, the Brahmans dressed themselves in "silk and satin."

These Kanauj brahmans, the founders of the Krishnaghur family, fully carried out the spirit of brahmanism; isolation from the people, seeking only the interests of their own class. We have accounts of palaces built by them, and of political movements made,—but no regard to the people: they were great zemindars or Rajahs, and held their titles, though generally hereditary, yet reversible on bad conduct: they were in the condition of feudal lords. The skill in athletic exercises displayed by some of them, and for which they received rewards from the Moslem Governors, was a remnant of their northern origin, and which seems to be to a great extent lost with the modern Rajahs. Where could we meet now with a Bengali Rajah able to pull up a young mango-tree by the roots? Not till they use more animal food, and until gymnastics are made a branch of national education.

The earliest mention we have of Nuddea, is in the time of Rághav Rám, who both erected a magnificent palace at Krishnaghur, and also a statue of Gonesha and temple of Siva at Nuddea. This was probably about the commencement of Jehangir's reign. Nuddea had been for six centuries previous one of the chief cities of Bengal. We insert here an account of the origin of the Nuddea University, which we met with lately in an old publication, the *Calcutta Monthly Register*, for January 1791. We know not what authority the writer has for his statements, but in various ways it coincides with points mentioned in the Sanskrit work.

"The joguy or fakeer Abdehoad, has the glory of being its
'founder, it is said, upwards of four hundred years ago. The
'tradition is, that, the place being a perfect jungle, or unculti-
'vated forest, Abdehoad retired into it, to lead a life of devo-
'tion and abstinence. His residing there, induced two or three

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'other persons to build huts there. The place soon began to 'wear a flourishing aspect; when it appeared, that this holy man 'was, in a most distinguished manner, an object of the divine 'favour. He was inspired with a perfect knowledge of the 'sciences, without any application or study, and his benevolence 'induced him to impart to his neighbours the supreme happi-'ness which he derived from the gift. As he described the 'nature of it to them, they expressed so great a desire to partake 'of it, that he offered to instruct them in it. The success at-'tending this generous undertaking, was so remarkable, that it 'is believed to have been preternatural.

"By the time he had read one leaf to them, they comprehend-'ed what would have filled ten. They soon read and transcrib-'ed all that he had committed to writing, and with the utmost 'facility, composed new works of their own; about this time 'the place began to engage attention.

"Fortunately the Rajah or principal person of the district, 'was a man of liberal mind, and a friend to religion and learn-'ing. His name was Roghow Roy, a brahman of the sect Gaur. 'This illustrious person visited the fakeer's school, and became 'one of his disciples. He afterwards patronized the seminary, 'and made it a regular and permanent institution. He in a 'princely manner endowed it with lands, for entertaining mas-'ters and students, building houses at the same time for their 'accommodation. He also bestowed prizes upon certain de-'grees of proficiency in literature; for example, he that could 'explain the Nea Shaster, received from the Rajah a cup filled 'with gold mohurs, and he that explained any other of the 'Shasters, received a cup filled with rupees. In short, the Ra-'jah's liberality, and the fakeer's supernatural knowledge, soon 'rendered Nuddeah the most frequented as well as the most 'learned university in the East. It has been, and is this day, 'peculiarly celebrated as a school of philosophy.

"The learned Serowmun, one of the first professors of philo-'sophy at Nuddeah, wrote a system of philosophy, which has 'continued to be the text book of that school ever since. 'Fifty-two pundits, of considerable note in the republic of 'letters, have written each a commentary on Serowmun's 'treatise of philosophy.

"The pundit Shunkur, one of the present professors, is a de-'scendant from Serowmun, and supports the literary reputation 'of his own family and of Nuddeah, in a very distinguished 'manner.

"Other sciences have also been cultivated at Nuddeah, with

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'peculiar success, particularly astronomy and astrology; al-
'though there is no man there at present very eminent in this
'department.

"The names of the Nuddeah Rajahs, since the foundation of
'the university, are as follows: Roghow Roy, Rooddre, Ram
'Jeemur, Rugguram, Kissen Chund and Sivachund.

"The present Rajah's son is about twenty-five years of age,
'and named Issurchund. All these have been remarkably long
'lived, owing no doubt, in some degree, to the nature of their
'pursuits, by which they were never exposed to violence or dan-
'ger. Rooddre, in particular, lived to be upwards of one hun-
'dred years of age; and as he inherited his father's taste and
'liberality, his long reign was the means of establishing and
'perpetuating the fame of Nuddeah. The family place of re-
'sidence or palace is at Sivanibass, and the courts of judicature
'are held at Kishnaghur.

"The grandeur of the foundation of the Nuddeah University
'is generally acknowledged. It consists of three colleges,
'Nuddeah, Santipore and Gopulparrah. Each is endowed with
'lands for maintaining masters in every science; whenever the
'revenues of these lands prove too scanty for the support of
'the pundits and their scholars, the Rajah's treasury supplies
'the deficiency; for the masters have not only stated salaries
'from the Rajah, for their own support, but also an additional
'allowance for every pupil they entertain. And these resources
'are so ample, and so well administered, that in the College of
'Nuddeah alone, there are at present about eleven hundred
'students and one hundred and fifty masters. These numbers,
'it is true, fall very short of those in former days. In Rajah
'Rooddre's time there were at Nuddeah, no less than four thou-
'sand students, and masters in proportion. Still, however,
'it must be acknowledged, that the seminary is respectable,
'and must be supported by no inconsiderable talents and
'learning.

"Shunker pundit is the head of the College of Nuddeah, and
'allowed to be the first philosopher and scholar in the whole
'university; his name inspires the youth with the love of
'virtue, the pundit with the love of learning, and the greatest
'Rajahs, with its own veneration.

"The students that come from distant parts, are generally of a
'maturity in years, and proficiency in learning, to qualify them
'for beginning the study of philosophy, immediately on their
'admission; but yet they say, that to become a real pundit,
'a man ought to spend twenty years at Nuddeah in close

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'application. Thus in the east, as well as the west, the fruit 'of the tree of knowledge, costs the high price of *viginti* 'annorum lucubrationes.

"Any man that chooses to devote himself to literature, will 'find a maintenance at Nuddeah from the fixed revenues of 'the university, and the donations of the Rajah. Men in 'affluent circumstances, however, live there at their own 'expense, without burthening the foundation.

"By the pundits' system of education, all valuable works are 'committed to memory; and to facilitate this, most of their 'compositions, even their dictionaries, are in metre. But they 'by no means trust their learning entirely to this repository; on 'the contrary, those who write treatises or commentaries on 'learned topics, have at Nuddeah always met with distinguish-'ed encouragements and rewards.

"The time of attending the public schools and lectures, is 'from ten o'clock in the morning until noon. Their method of 'teaching is this:—two of the masters commence a dialogue, 'or disputation on the particular topic they mean to explain. 'When a student hears any thing advanced or expressed that 'he does not perfectly understand, he has the privilege of inter-'rogating the master about it. They give the young men every 'encouragement to communicate their doubts, by their temper 'and patience in solving them. It is a professed and established 'maxim of Nuddeah, that a pundit who lost his temper in ex-'plaining any point to a student, let him be ever so dull and 'void of memory, absolutely forfeits his reputation and is dis-'graced.

"The Nuddeah Rajahs have made it their frequent practice 'to attend the disputations. On all public occasions, especially, 'the Rajah assists and rewards those who distinguish themselves. 'But instead of cup-fulls of gold and silver, as formerly, all that 'this prince can now afford to bestow is a loatta and dhoatty, *i. e.*, 'a brass cup and a pair of drawers. These, however, from the 'Rajah's own hands are, by no means, considered trivial rewards. 'No Emperor's chelat communicates a higher pleasure, nor 'inspires a nobler pride. Nothing can be more characteristic of 'philosophic simplicity and moderation, than the value which 'they set upon it. "Is it not," say they, "the dress and furni-'ture which nature requires?"

Jessore is mentioned in the Chronicle in connection with Pratápáditiya its ruler, who refused to pay tribute to Akbar, but the Moslem General was aided against a Hindu by another Hindu, Majumdar of Krishnaghur. "Every man for

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himself" was evidently the maxim in ancient days as now. From the numerous Moslem families in Jessore settled for a long period, from the magnificent city erected to the south of it by Pratápáditiya, and from the former cultivated state of the Sunderbunds, we infer that Jessore was in Akbar's days a place of much greater importance than of late times—the Bhayrab flowed through it with a mighty stream, forming a communication between the Upper Provinces and the Eastern Districts. The Vernacular Literature Committee have published a Life of Pratápáditiya, which contains various interesting particulars about Jessore.

We have a notice of Burdwan in the Chronicle, in connection with a deed equalling that of Lucretia in Roman history. Burdwan seems to have been formerly a place of importance, secured by a fort which stood probably to the west of the church, where also the old palace was situated. It was the wife of a Governor of Burdwan who, on her husband Uriah-like being assassinated in Burdwan, became the Queen of Jehangir, under the name of Nur Jehan, and was a second Elizabeth in India. Shah Jehan remained at Burdwan some time, and there received the refusal from the Portuguese of his request for artillery, which made him afterwards wreak his vengeance on Hugly. It was at Burdwan the English obtained the grant of land on which the city of Calcutta stands, from Arungzib's grandson, who was Governor there, and who ornamented Burdwan city with a palace and mosque. The revolt of Sobha Sing, mentioned in the Chronicle, will be ever memorable in this country, as it led to the English getting permission to erect Fort William in Calcutta, and thereby securing for themselves a local habitation and a name. The present Rajah of Burdwan is only an adopted son, the old family was of Khetriya origin; we have some notice of them five centuries ago.

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ART. V.—*The Private Life of an Eastern King. By a Member of the Household of his late Majesty, Nussir-u-Deen, King of Oude. London*, 1855.

"THE age of conquests is passed," said Louis Napoleon; and the European world, delirious with fear lest he should be the conqueror, exulted in the sentiment. It was quoted by statesmen with a glad smile, as a proof that their much vaunted "balance of power" was not yet to be disturbed. The states of Europe were still to occupy their position of armed and fettered neutrals. It was welcomed by the dreamers as heralding in that era of peace and plenty, which they have so often prophesied, and postponed—and it was accepted by thinkers as a proof that the speaker felt himself strong enough to do without immediate war. The acclamations continued. Two years after, the whole strength of France and England was stretched to prevent the boldest attempt at conquest recorded in history. The great fact gave the lie to the pungent aphorism. The age of conquests has *not* passed, nor is it passing; it proceeds, with greater or less rapidity, in every corner of the earth. Russia stands pledged to a deliberate scheme, involving the conquest of the old world. America stands pledged to principles which involve the conquest of the new. England, while repudiating conquest, goes on conquering, annexes a new territory in every half decade, and annihilates some barbarian tribe in every two years. It is true, the last named power believes herself free of any such design. She does not, however, draw back her hand; and the only consequence of her prudery is, that her conquests are without system, made often at the wrong moment, and generally three times as costly as they need have been. She destroys the dynasty of Runjeet, and leaves the seeds of rebellion, because she will not "conquer." She annexes Pegu, and makes a virtue of abstaining from the "conquest" of the remainder of the kingdom. In short, despite Manchester men and able editors, cotton manufacturers and philanthropic dreamers, she is as much pledged to advance as the Romanoffs or the States. Meanwhile, these conquering nations, these races whose lust of territorial aggrandisement excites the horror of Quakers and of Manchester orators, advance in every other direction at an equally rapid rate. England is incomparably richer, more educated, more virtuous, than she was in the dreary reigns of the first Georges, who repudiated any thing so energetic as annexation. Russia, in thirty years,

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has added 30 per cent. to her population, and, the lies of the hour being overlooked—50 per cent. to the physical comfort of her millions. Her policy overshadows Europe. Her diplomacy excites a dread such as Englishmen once felt for the Spaniard and the Jesuit. Her arms have proved equal to those of two of the mightiest nations of the world. Of the United States it is useless even to speak. The child is growing into a giant. While she doubles her country, she quadruples her means of employing it. There are more Dollars, more Railways, more Coin, more Telegraphs, more People, more Missions, and more Education in the States, than there were thirty years ago. Let us turn to the non-conquering States. The Oriental Empires have ceased to conquer, and are ceasing to exist. Every where around is the sound of the crumbling of rotten thrones. How stands the mighty and paternal Government of China? With treason at the gates of Pekin, outside barbarians proffering arrogant assistance, the King of the North stealing her fairest provinces, the valley of her most magnificent river. Japan has yielded to the demand of a single squadron of one of the conquering nations. The King of Siam has admitted the Consul, who will give place only to the Resident. The Shah of Persia quails at the threat of a single Englishman. Day by day the dominion of Russia advances further over the Nomad tribes, and Empire-seats of Central Asia. How is it with Spain? Is she happier, richer, nobler, than when engaged in her career of conquest? Is Espartero greater than Alva, or as good as LasCasas. Is O'Donnell the equal of Cortez or Gonsalves? Are the gang of repudiatory Editors who surround Isabella, greater than the grave and stately men of thought, who were the eyes and hands of Philip and Charles the Fifth? Is Spain turned into a Paradise by her long cessation from the career of conquest? Has she more men or manufactures, Railways, Telegraphs, Exports, Imports, or aught that the soul of Manchester rejoices in? Has she even the things in which wiser men take pleasure, books or pictures, achievements in literature or art? Has she so many rivals to Calderon and Cervantes, to Velasquez and Murillo? If we turn to Italy, the picture becomes even more striking. But one section of that land has woke from the dream of ages, and entered the race of modern civilization. The first effort of that one was to conquer Italy, an effort not abandoned at Novara; its second to assist in resisting the conquest of Constantinople. France and the Scandinavian Powers are the only ones in which the cessation of conquest is not apparently accompa-

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nied by a downward tendency, and they are not really exceptions to the rule. France has not given up, though she has for the moment suspended conquest. She has not surrendered Algeria, or given up the design of making the Rhine her boundary. As for Scandinavia, her energies are absorbed in one long struggle to resist the inevitable march of one of the conquering powers. Slowly and quietly she recedes, but recede she does. Sweden dares not declare war. Denmark takes a Russian Prince as successor to the throne of Christian.

If then, throughout the world, progress and conquest are in fact united, is it not just possible that they may also be united of right? Is there not some faint probability, that conquest may be right as well as inevitable, and that the Manchester school are committing not only a blunder but a crime, in resisting it? And first, is not conquest on the part of a progressive nation inevitable?

As far as the conquests over mere savages are concerned, this will, we suppose, be admitted without much argument. As a nation becomes richer, its population is certain to encrease. The development of new trades affords place for new households, and in countries where a healthy morality prevails, population encreases somewhat faster than commerce. These mouths must be fed: it is all very well to tell them that they must starve at home. They won't do it, and there is no human force extant competent to make them. They emigrate to lands which wait only cultivation to give them the comforts denied by the old world. Unfortunately, these lands are frequently scoured by savage races who use them as the beasts of prey use the jungle. As a matter of course, they regard the settlers as intruders. The settlers, on the other hand, look on them as thieves and murderers, or if excessively philanthropic, as men who must "retire into the interior." The savages object to either process, recur to their only argument, and whether Seminoles or Sioux, Gualches, or Australians, disappear. The white man needed room, and, under whatever disguise, he took it, and maintained it by superior force. We say nothing of the right or wrong of such a proceeding, we speak simply of the fact, and of its inevitable character. The question, however, must be widened out. Is there any necessity why a progressive nation should be also a conquering one? Why should it not live and permit its neighbours to live in peace? We reply, the necessity exists, unless the nation follows the policy of Japan. If it retires into itself, refuses all communication with the outer world, and ignores all human action, except its own, it may live till some wave of barbarism coerces it once

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more into conquest. The Romans of the Empire actually did do this. There was Rome. Outside was the universe. They wanted no connection with it ; they ceased to conquer, and for a few years lived on in a luxurious peace. The pig can deny itself to every body but the butcher. The butcher came at last, and Rome woke to find that the age of conquest had not passed away, but that she was herself the conquered. Under any other conditions, conquest is as certain as the demonstration of a mathematical problem. The progressive nation, like a healthy child, gradually grows strong. Like the same child, as she reaches to man's estate, she comes into contact with other beings like herself, forms friendships, enmities and alliances. Ultimately every nation finds it indispensable to consolidate and render definite her business relations with other nations. Soon, either from folly or malice, or the inevitable clash of opposing interests, the growing nation finds or fancies itself injured. It feels that its development perhaps is cramped by inferior intellects, that the good it could achieve is prevented, that the principles in which it has earnest faith are derided. Or it finds simply that its trade is injured, that it is robbed of advantages honestly earned. It demands reparation, and frequently does not obtain it. We all know that even good men cannot be trusted in their own suits, that men really desirous of doing right, actually cannot see, in opposition to their own interest, where the right really lies. How much less probable is it that a nation will thus concede rights to which it believes its title well assured ? The demand is refused. The injured nation must submit or fight. She arms, her internal energy gives her the victory, and she, in fact, makes a conquest. The suit is won, the expenses must be paid, or the victor is still injured. Money or territory is accepted as compensation, and a conquest is effected. It matters nothing that the defeated nation is not subjugated. That is simply the moderation of the victor, or the result of policy. Where land is wanted, it is immediately taken. Even England has already demanded a few Colonies.

Holding then conquest to be inevitable to a progressing people, either from want of room, or from the natural circumstance of strength being exerted to inflict punishment for injury received, is deliberate conquest ever justifiable ? Is it ever a right thing to set forward an army with the distinct intention of putting one nation under the rule of another ? We hold, as thousands hold, if they dared but avow their belief, that it is ; and we so hold, because we believe that every nation, like every individual, has, or ought to have, a conscience and a responsi-

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bility. It is bound by a law higher than any international law to put an end to oppression and to victorious crime, and to human suffering, whenever and wherever it discovers it. The man who stands by and looks quietly on at a murder, having power to prevent it, is a murderer. The nation which looks quietly on, while thousands are murdered, shares in the guilt, and will share in the retribution. Indeed, in extreme cases, as they are called, this is openly acknowledged. Who objected to Lord John Russell's threat to *compel* the Duke of Tuscany to liberate the Madini? Who doubts our right to coerce barbarians into a respect for the persons of British travellers? The right here acknowledged in extreme cases exists in all. We are bound, having the power, to prevent human suffering, and being so bound, we must occasionally, in the discharge of our duty, resort to force. That force again will occasionally lead to conquest. There are races on earth who so nearly occupy the position held by maniacs among men, that it is indispensable for their own security to put them, metaphorically, in irons. Reasoning is useless, menaces are not understood, even the scourge is only operative for the moment—we must put them in confinement, keep their dangerous strength in order, place their propensities where they can effect no harm. But if we do this, we are bound to see that they obtain every comfort we can assure them, that their property is well administered, and themselves subjected to the regimen best calculated to effect a return to reason. To effect this great object, we must assume the complete and effectual control, in other words, we must, when speaking of nations, annex.

We are fully aware of the extreme consequences to which this theory may develope itself. "Who," says some horrified member of the Peace Society, "who makes you judge in your own case? Granting even your right in certain cases, to whom are you responsible for a blunder?" We answer, to God alone. On earth the sane man alone can judge of his right to confine the insane. If, through cupidity or lust of power, he confines one not properly insane, he sins, and will undergo the retribution. The possibility of such a crime does not lessen the right of sane mankind to confine madmen. But what proof have we that he is mad, or what is the degree of oppression which justifies interference? We reply, the proof of insanity in nations rests, as in individuals, with the conscience of the sane, assisted by the advice of those specially skilled in such complaints. And as for the degree of oppression, any degree which can be considered equal or superior to the amount of human suffering which will be caused by the effort to

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remedy it. But we shall again be told that this would lead us to interfere in such cases as the fearful misgovernment of Naples, or even to put down slavery in the United States by force of arms. Precisely. When Cromwell uttered the haughty menace, "If thou wilt not spare the poor people of God, my guns shall be heard in the Castle of San Angelo," he acted on this very principle. We accept this extreme result, and hold that England commits a crime in permitting the present misgovernment of Naples. The same remark would apply to the slave question, with this one limitation. *Can* we do it? No man is bound to perform impossibilities, or to commit suicide in order to prevent murder. If a man who could not swim, saw a murder being committed in the middle of the Hooghly, he would not be guilty for not jumping into the water to prevent it. It is only the good which it is clear we can do that we are bound to do; and we *can* stop misgovernment in Naples. Therefore, we hold that a nation is bound by a law higher than any precept of Vattel, or any subtlety of Puffendorf, to conquer, if without conquering it cannot put an end to a great oppression.

This being admitted, how much greater is the crime of a nation which enables another to commit crime, and then refuses either to abandon or repair its criminality, because atonement would involve an imaginary horror designated "conquest." Such a nation is like a man who gives a Malay a creese to run a muck with, and refuses either to take away the weapon or to heal the wounds it inflicts, because that involves a little trouble and the obloquy of the bad. Yet this is precisely our policy in India. We place weapons in the hands of men who, from education, are as mad as these Malays; and not only that, but we bind their victims to make the slaughter easy. Then when we awake to the fact that murders are being committed, we refuse to interfere, because, forsooth, Cobden and Bright will be indignant at our interference. We give the Rajah of Travancore the right to enslave a hundred thousand human beings; we enable the Maharaja of Cashmere to use molten lead as a tax-collector's expedient. We permit the King of Oude to perform every act which can ruin his dominions, and then we refuse to interfere. We sell poison, knowing it will be used for murder, and consider ourselves virtuous because we will not put the murderer under arrest.

This kingdom of Oude is perhaps the best illustration of English blundering on the subject of conquest. In 1806, after various most disgraceful intrigues, Lord Wellesley brought the Oude affair to a summary termination. He conquered Oude.

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It is true he did not march troops, fight battles, or expend more of his resources than he could help, but still he conquered Oude. The power to do all this was in his hand, and the King knew perfectly that if he refused to obey it would be employed. He signed a treaty which stripped him of half his dominions. It guaranteed to him, however, the other half. It enabled him to live without fear of any external enemy whatsoever. Aware that quarrels might arise with his subjects, with Rajahs indignant at the supremacy of a Mussalman, or with Mussalmans indignant at the restrictions on maltreating Hindus, it guaranteed him also against internal revolt. Six thousand British troops were placed in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, and the King was informed that, as regarded his own subjects, he was absolutely free. More unrestricted power it was perhaps impossible to place in the hands of mortal man. The King was free from the dread of the appeal to Delhi, which was the great check upon the actions of the Nawabs. The religious check, sometimes strong in Mussalman countries, mattered little in a district, three-fourths of whose population were Hindus, and whose traditions had been destroyed by incessant changes of administration. Even the great final check was wanting. So long as the King was popular in the palace, his personal safety was assured. No energy of reformation could render a revolt possible. No excess of crime could give his subjects strength to resist him, backed as he was by all the strength of India, and all the strength of England. The weapons were placed in his hand, and he was assured that he was free, free in the highest sense of the word, to use them as he would. One only stipulation did the conqueror make, one trace only of humanity is to be found in his arrangements. He implied that the mighty powers with which the son of an arch-traitor was invested, were to be used for good, under the implied penalty of forfeiture;—that in the event of notoriously bad government, the treaty would be considered as violated by the King of Oude, and not binding on the other contracting party.

Nor was the kingdom, though shorn of its fair proportions, unworthy the acceptance of Ghazee-ud-deen. The modern kingdom of Oude stretches over an area of about twice the size of England. This great tract is or was inhabited by five millions of the boldest and most industrious race yet known in India. More than one-half its area would produce all the necessities of Oriental life, and all that is useful for exportation. Wheat and barley, oils and gums, indigo and lac dye, gold and silver, were all produced or producible in

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profusion. The Ganges was the highway of Oude, as well as of the north-west. Vast forests of teak afforded an inexhaustible material for building. Mines of kunkur and granite rocks supplied the material for endless roads. The revenue was still four millions sterling. The dynasty was tolerably popular. The people were not very heavily ground down. A rich and honoured nobility stood around the throne, with rights sufficiently secure to ensure a constant succession of competent officials. The King himself, though vicious, was a man of decent capacity, and his minister might have done credit to a European monarchy. The trial was made; and from that day Oude has been in the position of a house governed by a maniac. It has been subjected to the most fearful evil which we believe can visit a community, the evil of a Government which unites profligacy to idiotcy. Slowly and almost without observation its property has passed away. Its revenue has declined from four millions sterling to seventy lakhs of Rupees. Its population has been not only decimated but reduced one-half. Every kind of order has disappeared. The police has ceased to exist. The revenue is farmed to eighteen chuckladars, who obtain their appointments solely from bribery of the low favourites of the court. The money which they pay in is anticipated years before it is due, and is reduced one-half by the numerous hands through which it passes. The usual course of procedure is somewhat after this fashion. The chuckladar, with a strong body of troops, selects a few villages or a rich zemindary for his first demand. It is for the regular revenue *plus a solatium*. Both are paid with considerable readiness, if the village has not been recently harried, or stormed, or visited by the King, or by any other pestilence. The taxation of Oude is not by itself very oppressive, and as for the *solatium*, that is regarded as a matter of course, a mere expression of respect for a superior. This once secured, the chuckladar makes a new demand. He still, however, usually covers it with some pretext. His troops are in revolt, and he must pay them at once; or his commissariat is out of order; or there is a manufactured balance of arrears; or, in short, the lamb's father abused the wolf. The villagers or the zemindar, anticipating something of the kind, are not quite unprepared. With tears and menaces, and imprecations, and sometimes with a shew of fighting, they still pay. Then the chuckladar comes out without disguise. He seizes all the women he can lay his hands on, and demands a ransom under the threat of insults to them which, to an oriental, are worse than death. Sometimes the terrible threat extorts the remainder of the victim's hoard. Sometimes, parti-

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cularly among the Hindus, the threat fills them with despair, the unfortunates turn at bay, and sword in hand, cut their way through to the Company's territory. Sometimes, too, they defeat the chuckladar and take to the mountains. More frequently the village is assaulted, all the property harried, and the women surrendered to the lust of the soldiery. The scene is repeated again and again, and the chuckladar frequently emerges from a district which he has turned into a desert studded with sacked cities. Why should he not? He has no principle, for the little religious feeling he ever possessed has been worn out in the palaces of Lucknow. He has no humanity, for when did an Oriental ever shrink from the spectacle of human suffering? He has no enlightened self-interest, for the profits of his crimes will purchase immunity, and an exchange with some other chuckladar. He has no fear even, for resistance is ultimately impossible. Is he not backed by a favourite eunuch whom he has bribed? Is not the eunuch supported by a nika wife, at whose irregularities he winks? Is not the nika wife, mehtranee though she may be, omnipotent with her sensual lord? And is he not supported by all the strength of an empire with a hundred millions of obedient subjects, and able to place a thousand pieces of cannon on one battle-field? He perseveres. Occasionally, as in the instance of Naupurah, a whole country is laid waste; but it matters nothing at Lucknow. The King's favourites have money, and the King has, to use Carlyle's expression, "unspeakable peace within doors." Woe to the chuckladar, however, if he presumes to retain too much of his wealth. The courtiers are then awake to humanity. Complaints are listened to, he is ordered to disgorge, tied by the heels to a high roof, covered with oil, and placed in the sun, thrown among hornets, burnt with hot irons on the arm-pits and the thighs. The sponge is quickly squeezed, and King and courtiers get drunk with champaign purchased out of the proceeds. Such is the mofussil of Oude, the dreary scene varied only by the sudden success of some daring Hindu Raja, who, but for his fear of the British, would cleanse Oude of its pestilent rulers in six months. Is the capital any better. We have before us a letter, giving a short account of the visit of a recent traveller to Lucknow, which has never made its appearance in print. The writer, obviously a long resident in India, has, we know, enjoyed peculiar opportunities of arriving at the truth:

"Mr. —— and I reached Lucknow on ——and were most
' warmly received by——. Round the city stretches a deep belt
' of desert, apparently some twenty-two miles deep, and which
' looks to my eye, and I examined the soil very carefully, like

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'culturable tracts. Next morning, mounted on two tall elephants, 'very thin and woe-begone-looking, we started for a survey of 'the city. You have been at Cairo I know. Did you remark 'the strange look of the city from the Mamelukes' leap, that 'look as if it were worn out with old age, and only wanted some 'friendly hand to crumble it into dust? Lucknow has just that 'crumbling look. Every thing, from the gates downwards, is an 'imitation of Stamboul. The idea has been originally well con-'ceived, but it is executed in lath and plaster, and everything 'is going to ruin. The plaster crumbles, the bricks are crushed, 'and there is no repair. On the road I observed, that our ele-'phants had an eccentric habit of stealing cakes, vegetables and 'fruit, from every open stall we passed. 'They are starved, like 'all the King's animals,' was the quiet explanation, 'and the 'mahouts, who are fond of the animals, teach them to steal, and 'abuse the stall-keepers for objecting.' The King has endless 'palaces, such as they are, every monarch erecting a new edifice, 'and robbing his predecessor's to adorn it. Each has also a 'mausoleum; all with one exception are robbed in the same way, 'and I asked thereason of this remarkable exemption. 'It is 'under the British guarantee,' was the satisfactory answer.. 'Everything was dilapidated to the last degree, the plaster 'dropping from the walls, dirt on every corner, the magnificent 'furniture all destroyed, guards, all old men or boys, dressed or 'undressed, in uniform so ragged, that it is a mercy it hangs 'together. In the great palace, in the audience chamber, were 'twelve guards watching the diamond throne. Three had no 'jackets, two a trouser a piece, and one man, who made his 'salute with a rusty bayonet, because he had no musket, had 'literally nothing but his cross belt and his dhootie. Almost 'all were old men, with the blank weary looks of those who had 'no hope and no interest. 'How many of these ragamuffins may 'there be?' we enquired. 'Some eighty thousand throughout 'Oude.' 'And are they all like these?' pointing to one old rascal 'who was on the stairs, ineffectually endeavouring to salute us 'with what appeared to be the handle of a cooking pot.

"Bah! was the reply, these are the Coldstream Guards. They 'are seldom more than two years in arrear. You should see 'the fellows in the interior." And is this really the army 'of Oude?

"There are three or four regiments in better trim, but for 'the eighty thousand, here you have them.

"We mounted our howdahs again, and rode on. Passing 'through a long bazar, I observed a whole row of little houses 'on the wall, with very green jilmils. These were the abodes

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‘ of the King’s discarded mistresses. In another bazar, right
‘ among the people, were two tigers lying on charpoys, and tied
‘ with ropes which, in my imagination, looked very rotten. Good
‘ God, said Mr. —— Why, these are tigers ; are they safe ? Safe,
‘ not a bit of it, but what then ? Who cares for human life in
‘ Lucknow ? They used to be led by a string up and down the
‘ bazar, until the Resident interfered. He would have them se-
‘ cured if he could, but lying there and looking at the children
‘ makes them fierce.

“ And if they eat the said children ?—God is great, what does
‘ the King care ?

“ I saw a spectacle nearly equally bad in the menagerie. I
‘ entered the compound almost without thinking. On one side
‘ was a rhinoceros tied to a tree, and around me eleven tiger
‘ cages. Not one was properly secured. The bars were loose,
‘ the floors rotten, the roof full of holes. The animals often
‘ escape, and are always dangerous, but what is human life in
‘ Lucknow ? I confess I made my escape as quickly as possible,
‘ more especially as the rhinoceros began to shew signs of dis-
‘ pleasure at our long stay. The animals were once in strong
‘ cages, but a flood drove them out, and since then they have
‘ been retained here. The people, as we passed along, were to
‘ me all the same in appearance, a look of ferocious sensuality.
‘ The Hindus were best, but all were terribly inferior to the
‘ villagers and Cawnporees.

“ Is there no money then, that these poor brutes are so
‘ starved, I enquired ?

“ Money ! The menagerie costs thousands a year. I cannot
‘ say who gets it, but the tigers certainly don’t. It is the same
‘ every where in Lucknow. Money is paid for the palaces. The
‘ palaces crumble. Money is paid for the mosque. It has no
‘ readers, no teachers, no services, no book. Money is paid for
‘ the tombs. All that is not dirt in them is cobweb. As we rode
‘ homewards, I noticed two scenes I shall not readily forget.
‘ The one was the blackened shell of a house, where a Hindu,
‘ his wife and two children were, twelve months ago, burnt
‘ alive, because the man was unable to comply with the demand
‘ of a favourite eunuch for fifty Rupees. The King at first reso-
‘ lutely refused to punish the author of this deed, and when
‘ severely pressed, placed him for three days in open arrest.
‘ The second sight was a young woman, evidently beautiful in
‘ form, walking along with a man with a pistol on half cock
‘ behind her.

“ ‘ Who is that,’ quoth I, in my innocence, ‘ and what is the
‘ pistol for ?’

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"'Probably, she is going to some noble, and does not like it. 'The pistol will kill her if she flies.'

"Next day we all started out again, and passing through 'a series of narrow lanes, came upon the great street. There 'was a tremendous noise, and we emerged upon a scene 'such as can now be witnessed in its perfection only in 'Lucknow. The chowk or street was crammed with human 'beings. There must have been forty thousand persons there, 'all beating their breasts, wailing, shrieking, flourishing their 'sabres, and every now and then joining in a sort of wild 'rush to see something quite invisible to me, but I sup-'pose a tajeea. Do these scenes never end in bloodshed? 'inquired I of ——. It is the last day of the Mohurrum 'said he. I had forgotten it, or I would not have brought you 'here. The Mohurrum costs about six hundred lives a year in 'Lucknow. We saw a great deal, but I am sick of all this. I 'have been listening all day to stories, some of them backed by 'irrefragable evidence, any one of which would make the 'House of Commons quiver with indignation. What is 'the misgovernment of Naples compared with this? I doubt 'if Tiberius or Caligula were a bit worse either in cruelty or 'debauchery, than the Nusser-ud-deen; and the present man 'is as bad, though of a feebler energy. Last night I heard one 'man defend the Government. He said,—he receives a thousand 'a month—that it was not so very bad, that the cruelty affected 'only the slaves of the palace, and the interior was well culti-'vated. Why is not indigo grown? said I. Well, said he, it has 'been tried, two Englishmen tried it. One was murdered, and 'the other had to fly. You see there *is no security for life and 'property here.* I heard, too, one little statistical fact, that will 'give you some idea of the state of morals. There are upwards 'of one hundred houses in Lucknow, all taxed and registered, 'and inhabited not by women but by men. Was Gomorrha 'worse? Such is life in Lucknow."

Had the writer lived there longer, he would have seen worse things than these, he would have heard of whole villages given up to the tigers, and whole cities given up to plunder, a soldiery useful only to oppress the peasantry, and a nobility whose only safety is at a distance from the capital.

Such is the capital and such is Oude, and we cannot but consider that it comes fairly within our category. Here we have a vast scene of oppression, and oppression which is admitted, and which, if denied, can be demonstrated on evidence that would satisfy a jury. This alone, upon our principles, would justify conquest, having for its sole excuse the termination of

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such oppression. But there is more than this The oppression exists solely because we arm and defend the oppressor. Therefore we are responsible not only for the guilt of slackness in a good work, for that fear of man which bringeth a snare, but for actual and direct participation in crime. The third link in our argumentative chain is not wanting. We *can* stop the oppression. Two lines in the *Gazette* would banish the whole crew, King, eunuchs, women and chuckladars into their natural insignificance. There is no army in Oude. The Hindu population is wholly on our side. The relatives of our sepoys, of both creeds, are most anxious for the annexation, and the remaining Mussalmans are not sufficiently united or sufficiently aggrieved for hostile action. Two regiments of Europeans would be sufficient, and two regiments of Europeans we can spare.

But one argument remains—It is alleged by some whose Hinduism leads them to sympathize deeply with the Native Princes that to annex Oude, would be to violate engagements. We may deprive the King of the power to do evil, but we may not strip him of his revenues. They are to be paid in order that he may live in luxury. It needs little argument to shew that these revenues belong to the country, and not to any individual house. His hereditary right is one of Government, not property. It is true, that in an Oriental country, the two phrases are, during the life-time of the King, almost synonymous, but they cease to be so at his death. He cannot alienate them by will. He cannot waste them while alive, except by rent-free tenures, terminable with the life of the donor. They are the property of the state, and pass with it into the hands of the conquerors. We question if those who thus argue ever realize to their own minds what an Oriental Prince is. He is one of those beings in whom Englishmen are unable to believe, a man whose one object in life is to procure for himself a moment's amusement at any cost, even of his own future peace and comfort. As for that of others, unless they pander to his vices or are essential to his dignity, it is never cared for at all. Add to all this, that an Indian Prince has usually lost even his own self-respect, and we obtain a character whom Suetonius would have refused to paint. A book has recently made its appearance, which depicts the interior life of one of these very Kings of Oude. Though not worth much in a historical point of view, it is an able work. The writer, apparently portrait-painter to the last King of Oude, has observed minutely and recorded without prejudice. He attempts neither broad sketches nor learned dissertations, but records simply what he has seen and heard.

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He had a remarkable opportunity for observing the interior of court life in Oude, and he has used it well. The result is a portrait of an Oriental King, such as has rarely been presented to occidental eyes. The gold and the jewels are all stripped away, the purple robe is pushed aside, and we have the man, immeasurably inferior to the worst sovereign who has ever occupied a European throne. The writer visited Lucknow in 1835, on business, and accepted an office, it is not clear what office, unless it was that of Librarian in the King's household. He commences his narrative with a sketch of the ruling favourite. This scoundrel with whose evil deeds all Lucknow is still ringing :—

The barber was the greatest man of the five. His influence was far greater than the native prime minister, or Nawab. He was known to be an especial favourite, and all men paid court to him. His history, truly and honestly written, would form one of the oddest chapters of human life. All that I knew of him was this :—

He had come out to Calcutta as cabin-boy in a ship. Having been brought up as a hair-dresser in London, he had left his ship, on arriving in Calcutta, to resume his old business. He was successful ; he pushed and puffed himself into notoriety. At length he took to going up the river with European merchandise for sale ; he became, in fact, what is called there a river-trader. Arrived at Lucknow, he found a Resident,—not the same who was there when I entered the king's service,—anxious to have his naturally lank hair curled like the Governor-General's. The Governor-General was distinguished by his ringlets ; and the Governor-General is, of course, " the glass of fashion and the mould of form" in India. The resident would be like him ; and the river-trader was not above resuming his old business. Marvellous was the alteration he made in the Resident's appearance ; and so the great saheb himself introduced the wonder-working barber to the king. That Resident is in England now, and writes M. P. after his name.

The king had peculiarly lank, straight hair ; not the most innocent approach to a curl had ever been seen on it. The barber wrought wonders again, and the king was delighted. Honours and wealth were showered upon the lucky *coiffeur*. He was given a title of nobility. *Sofras Khan* (" the illustrious chief") was his new name, and men bowed to him in Oude. The whilom cabin-boy was a man of power now, and wealth was rapidly flowing in upon him. The king's favourite soon becomes wealthy in a native state. The barber, however, had other sources of profit open to him besides bribery : he supplied all the wine and beer used at the king's table. Every European article required at court came through his hands, and the rupees accumulated in thousands. " What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour ?" is a question as apt now in every oriental court as it was when the Jewish queen* recorded it.

Nussir put no bounds to the honours he heaped upon the fascinating barber ; unlimited confidence was placed in him. By small degrees he had at last become a regular guest at the royal table, and sat down to take dinner with the king as a thing of right ; nor would his majesty taste a bottle of wine opened by any other hands than the barber's. So

* Esther.

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afraid was his majesty of being poisoned by his own family, that every bottle of wine was sealed in the barber's house before being brought to the king's table; and before he opened it, the little man looked carefully at the seal to see that it was all right. He then opened it, and took a portion of a glass first, before filling one for the king. Such was the etiquette at the royal table when I first took my place at it.

The confidence reposed in the favourite was, of course, soon generally known over India, or at all events in Bengal. The "low menial," as the *Calcutta Review* called him,* was the subject of squibs, and pasquinades, and attacks, and satirical verses without number; and marvellously little did the low menial care what they said of him, as long as he accumulated rupees. They had the wit and the satire, and he had the money; so far he was content.

Of the newspapers, the most incessant in its attacks on the barber was the *Agra Uckbar*, a paper since defunct. Shortly before I left Lucknow, he employed a European clerk in the Resident's office to answer the attacks of the *Uckbar* in one of the Calcutta papers with which he corresponded; and for this service the clerk was paid Rs. 100 (10*l.*) a-month. So that, if the barber had not his own poet, like the tailors in London, he had, at all events, his own correspondent, like the *Times*.

On my introduction to the private dining-table of royalty, it may be easily supposed, therefore, that the two persons whom I was most anxious to see and to become acquainted with, were the king and the barber.

This man was the King's agent in almost all his evil practices. His influence appears never to have been employed for good, and he accumulated his great fortune simply by pampering the worst and lowest passions of his master. He was the actor in every practical joke, the leader in every outrage upon the King's family. It was he who dressed up a favourite slave girl as a European, and made her appear so disgusting to the King, that she disappeared. It was he who stripped one uncle of his majesty, and exposed him to the jeers of the soldiery. It was he who tore the moustaches from the face of another uncle, when he had tied them to a chair and let off fire works between the old man's legs. Finally, it was he who, by the bitter hatred he inspired among the King's own relatives, finally led to his death from poison administered at their instigation. We take a more pleasing picture of another set of favourites:—

It will not be supposed that during all this time I kept my eyes altogether away from the gauze curtain drawn across one end of the apartment. I had been told previously that some favourites of the harem were allowed by his majesty to witness the dinner-parties from behind that screen, and that it would be rude to be observed gazing intently at it. I found many opportunities, however, of inspecting it without violating etiquette. It was thick enough to prevent our recognising faces or figures behind, although we could see faintly the outline of shadowy masses of

* Art. "Kingdom of Oude," vol. iii.

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drapery passing to and fro. One principal figure was seated on a cushion,—the reigning favourite, doubtless; and her jewelled arms and neck glared brilliantly ever and anon as the light flashed upon them. We heard, too, a sweet feminine laugh, as the puppets were cut down, issuing from behind the screen; for although we could not see distinctly through it on account of our distance from it, those on the other side no doubt could.

The revel proceeded; songs were sung. His majesty became gradually more and more affected with the wine he had taken, until his consciousness was almost gone; and he was then assisted by the female attendants and two sturdy eunuchs behind the curtain, and so off into the harem. It was astonishing how like a drunken king looked to an ordinary drunken unanointed man.

Among such men and such women, varied by the addition of a few slave girls, nautch girls, and women of even yet lower grades, his majesty of Oude passed away his time in amusements. Nearly one half the book is taken up with them, and, if our space would allow, we would gladly extract a most vigorous description of a tiger fight.

Sometimes tigers fought elephants, sometimes elephants and rhinoceroses, and so eager was the King for the sport, that twenty-two of these huge beasts were at one time kept for his diversion. Antelopes and nightingales, ewes and rams, in short, almost every beast that roams, or bird that flies, was kept for his diversion. They have been given up now; the present Monarch has no fancy for any thing so energetic, and the menageries are almost in ruins. Antelopes and rams, and we believe, one or two larger animals, are still however kept and occasionally exhibited. Sometimes the King's amusements were by no means so dignified. One day he was watching a game at leap frog among the European household :—

We were in a large walled-in garden at Chaungunge, one of the park palaces, where animal fights often took place. The garden might have been some three or four acres in extent, and was surrounded with a high wall. Some one had been describing the game of leap-frog to his majesty, or else he had seen some pictures of it, and it had taken his fancy mightily. The natives were left without the garden, the heavy gates were swung to, and majesty commanded that we should forthwith begin. The captain of the body-guard "made a back" for the tutor, the librarian stood for the portrait-painter. Away we went, like school-boys, beginning with very "low backs," for none of us were very expert in the game, but gradually "making backs" higher and higher. Tutor, barber, captain, librarian, portrait-painter—off we went like over-grown schoolboys, now up, now down. It was hot work, I assure you.

The king, however, did not long stand a quiet spectator of the scene; he would try too. His majesty was very thin, and not over strong. I happened to be nearest him at the time; and he ran towards me, calling out. I "made a back" for him, and he went over easily enough. He was very light, and a good horseman, so that he succeeded in the vault: he then stood for me. I would have given a good deal to have been excused,

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but he would not have it so, and to have refused would have been mortally to have offended him.

I ran, vaulted, down went the back, down I went with it; and his majesty the king and the author of these reminiscences went rolling together amongst the flower-beds. He got up annoyed –

"Boppery bapp, but you are as heavy as an elephant!" he exclaimed.

I was afraid he would have been in a passion; but he was not. The barber adroitly made a back for him forthwith, and over he went blithely. The tutor, a thin spare man, was the lightest of our party, and the king made a back for him, and succeeded in getting him safely over. It was then all right. Away they went, vaulting and standing, round and round, until majesty was tired out, and wanted iced claret to cool him. The game was frequently renewed afterwards.

But the snow-balling? asks some impatient reader. Well, I am coming to it.

It was about Christmas-time. Christmas is called in India the great day of the sahebs; and we were conversing about it in this very garden at Chaun-gunge, where the leap-frog had been first tried.

Christmas sports led to a description of what winter was; winter led to snow: snow to snow-balling. We described to his majesty the art and pastime of snow-balling as well as we could. To a man who had never seen snow, it was not very easy to describe it vividly.

The garden abounded with a large yellow flower, peculiar to India, the smaller varieties of which are used to ornament houses in Calcutta at Christmas-time. It is not quite so large as a dahlia, but somewhat similar in appearance. When snow-balling had been described to the king as well as we could describe it, he pulled three or four of these yellow flowers, and threw them at the librarian, who happened to be the most distant of the party. Like good courtiers, all followed the royal example; and soon every one was pelting right and left. These yellow flowers were our snow-balls, and we all entered into the game with hearty good-will. The king bore his share in the combat right royally, discharging three missiles for one that was aimed at him. He laughed and enjoyed the sport amazingly. Before we had concluded, we were all a mass of yellow leaves: they stuck about in our hair and clothes, and on the king's hat, in a tenacious way. What the gardeners must have thought of the matter, when they came to set the garden to rights again, we did not stop to conjecture. It was enough that the king was amused. He had found out a new pleasure, and enjoyed it as long as those yellow flowers continued in bloom.

Freaks of this kind were incessant, and not always pleasant ones. Once the King kept the whole of his European household locked up in the palace for a week, on pretence of going hunting, laughing every night at the whole business as a most excellent jest. At another time he asked his aide-de-camp, whom he particularly disliked, to play at draughts with him for 100 Gold Mohurs. The poor man, well aware that the King must not be beaten, declined, upon which the King called him a pig. On another occasion, the king suddenly and without warning, struck his tents and departed for Lucknow. The scene that followed is worth quotation:—

There was no more going to sleep that night. The villagers had soon

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discovered that the king was gone with the body-guard, and they now broke into the encampment. Through the long dark hours we heard the cries of men and the shrieks of women resounding from the neighbourhood of the king's tents. The poorer portions of the female attendants had been unable to accompany the harem; and they were now exposed to every wrong and injury at the hands of the outraged villagers. Tents were broken into and pillaged; ornaments were torn from the hands and feet of the poor women; boxes were broken open, and clothes seized belonging to the first ladies of the court. As for us, self-preservation is the primary law of nature. It was the nawab's duty, not ours, to protect the camp. We expected every moment an attack upon our own tent, and so we sat up prepared, one with his pistols, another with his gun, and a third with his sword, all looking fierce and resolute. We were reconnoitred doubtless by the plunderers, and they felt no desire to come to close quarters with us. But why not go out and try and save the women from outrage? asks some indignant reader, with more enthusiasm than common sense. I will answer the question. The women left behind were, for the most part, discarded concubines, dancing-girls disgraced, or poor attendants. Had we entered their tents, calumny would soon have been rife in Lucknow; and some of these very ladies would have been the first to charge us with violating their privacy. A charge of having made our way into the harem would bring down at once upon us the anger of the king and of the Resident; and then, farewell, a long farewell, to all our hopes of fortune, to the little or the much we had accumulated. In the second place, our own tent, left without a guard, would soon have been pillaged; and however chivalrous men may be, they do not usually take care of other people's property before their own. Fewer than four of us could not have ventured forth to the succour of the distressed damsels; many of whom, by the by, would not have thanked us for the interference, if every thing we heard was true; and had we all gone, who was to prevent our clothes and our saddles, our couches and our travelling paraphernalia, nay, our very horses and palanquins, from being carried off?

Our horses were picqueted round the tent, and could not be carried off without carrying the native grooms with them; for, on the first alarm, the ropes by which they were attached to the stakes driven into the ground were firmly tied round the arms of the grooms within.

Amid such sights and sounds, as I have described, we sat in our tent, enjoying our cigars, during the long hours of darkness. In the morning, when we sallied forth to see the results of the tumult of the preceding night, a stranger or a more variegated scene it would not be easy to discover any where, or even to picture to the imagination. One of the royal tents had been blown down; and so intent was the king upon instant departure, that he would not allow any attempt to be made to raise it again. Every man was to assist in getting ready what was needful for the rapid march back to Lucknow—more resembling a flight than a march,—and no one thought of the fallen tent; no one except the villagers, *they* had not forgotten it. Notwithstanding all that the guards of the nawab could do, it had been ransacked and plundered. Even the very coat and pantaloons the king had taken off the previous evening were stolen. The whole ground around the encampment was littered, when we visited it, with portions of female attire that had been dropped in the hot haste of the plunderers as they made away with their booty. Articles, many of them of considerable value, lay strewn about in hopeless confusion—articles of furniture, cooking-apparatus, clothing, trappings for elephants and camels;

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the whole was, in fact, a complete litter of every kind of oriental requirement for the house, the person, and the road. Not *all* oriental, either. To our surprise, we noticed portions of female attire here and there never used by the Eastern ladies ; articles with which the shop-windows in London make the modest man painfully familiar. We were perfectly aware that no European in the king's service—cook, barber, coachman, or of the household—had his wife with him during the march ; and our conclusion was, therefore, that these articles belonged to some ladies of the harem, of whom we had heard and knew nothing.

That there had been hard fighting between the guarding attendants of the nawab and the villagers, was apparent enough ; for two men lay hacked and hewn almost to pieces upon the ground, both evidently strangers to the encampment ; and we heard that several of the nawab's servants had been severely wounded.

We returned to our tent, to partake of a hasty breakfast preparatory to departure. On reaching our quarters, we found every thing in confusion —an uproar would be the proper name for the scene that was apparent within our tent. It was some time before we succeeded in making ourselves heard, and getting intelligible answers to the questions we asked, so fierce was the dispute, and loud and violent the abuse. It was evident at a glance that some servants of the nawab were in violent altercation with ours, about what or wherefore we could not understand. Sticks were even raised in an eminently threatening way upon both sides : and had our return been delayed, another fight would have taken place in our very tent.

" The good-for-nothings will not obey the orders of his excellency the nawab, O! sahebs," shouted the chief of the intruders.

" The vile sons of vile mothers want us to leave my lords' tent, and go and help them somewhere else," screamed our servants in chorus.

Both parties spoke, Hindu fashion, at the utmost pitch of their voices. When men quarrel in India, they invariably try and frighten each other with laud talking.

We were evidently interested in the matter in dispute. A little questioning soon brought forth the information, that the nawab had sent an order to the sahebs' servants to assist in the general work of the encampment before departing ; and the messengers wanted to press into their service all our bearers and grooms, all not actually engaged in packing or preparing breakfast. Had we submitted to this injustice as we considered it, there was no telling when we should be able to depart ; and with a large stock of muddy linen, it was my interest to get back to Lucknow as soon as possible. I was by no means the only one, however, who felt the necessity of immediate departure. The king's company would leave the country through which we had to travel bare enough of labourers to assist in carrying our palanquins ; if the nawab's also left before us, there was no telling when we should reach Lucknow, or whether we should reach it at all ; for the European members of the king's household were not popular in Oude.

We reasoned calmly and quietly, representing the anxiety of the king for our presence, and his commands to follow him with all convenient speed. We were answered, that the nawab would take upon his own head the blame of our delay. We urged again, that it was our duty to attend his majesty forthwith ; and that if we gave up our servants without a struggle, we should be wanting in respect to " the refuge of the world." We were answered, that in the king's absence the nawab was the ruler, and that the command was his. We urged again, that we had several

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brace of pistols, six fowling-pieces, two rifles, and a large variety of swords, and that we were able to defend ourselves and our servants. The quiet reply was, that the nawab had three servants for our one, a much larger collection of arms, and if forced to use violence, would leave us no servants at all.

The quiet firmness of the officer sent with the party convinced us that the nawab was determined in the matter. Mingling his words with polite flattery and oriental exaggeration of our bravery and greatness, he yet persisted incessantly, never yielding so much as an inch.

We were at our wits' end. It was a very unpleasant position in which to be placed ; and to fight the nawab we did not intend. At length, as we still argued uselessly, the barber was thought of. Not a native attended upon the court but had a hearty and unfeigned fear of the barber ; his influence was known to be preponderant. An old and unsavoury proverb says, that if we think of a certain person he will appear. The barber was thought of at this moment, and the barber appeared. He was anxious to be off, too, immediately ; fortunately it was his interest, therefore, to travel with us, and to get to Lucknow as soon as possible. The circumstances were explained to him, and the little man seemed to grow big with indignation,

" You are all a pack of scoundrels together," he exclaimed, addressing the officer, " every one of you, nawab and all." This was in English, and was intended for the officer alone. " Go and tell his excellency," he continued in his halting Hindustani, " that the 'refuge of the world' requires me to dress his hair. I must be in Lucknow without delay ; and these gentlemen will travel with me. Not a servant must be touched. Are there not villagers enough ?"

The officer said nothing in reply ; but bowed, and went his way. Nor did we murmur at being thus taken under the protection of the little hero of the curling-tongs—not of the razor, for he did not shave the king. The barber was satisfied ; we were satisfied ; and if the nawab was not, he never let us know the fact—we heard nothing more of the want of servants.

Arrived in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, we found the king was anxiously awaiting us in the palace, whence we had set out—Dilkushar.

" You have left me long by myself, gentlemen," said his majesty, when we made our appearance one morning whilst the barber was officiating as usual ; " you have left me long by myself, gentlemen, in this dull place."

" Your majesty travels more swiftly than ordinary men can do," was the reply of one of our party.

" I am glad you are come : I have heard of the plundering of the camp by 'those rebellious villagers ; may 'their fathers' and mothers' names be reviled ! The barber has been telling me about it. Let me hear it all again."!

We told what we saw, and only what we saw. The king's anger grew fierce as he listened.

" To think," he stammered forth, " to think of the wretches daring to put their defiling hands on the clothes worn by me and by my wives. By my father's head, but they shall pay dearly for it."

" The nawab, I have heard, your majesty," said the barber, " has seized the principal offenders ; and is bringing them here to await your majesty's pleasure."

" They shall die, every one of them : no power on earth shall save one of them, if there are a hundred."

Such was the sentence of the " refuge of the world."

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We saw the sentence of the "refuge of the world."

We saw those miserable wretches afterwards as they were being brought to the palace. They were certainly ferocious, cut-throat-looking fellows enough. Each was strapped down to a charpoy, like a drunken man on a police-stretcher in England; and all of them had cuts of swords or stabs of daggers about their persons, their wounds unbound and unattended to. There were probably a dozen of them. The fatal order was given, and their heads were cut off the same day. Whether they actually were the principal delinquents in the plundering of the encampment or not, I cannot of course decide; the nawab's word was taken for it that they were. It certainly was his interest to appease the king by some such sacrifice; and if these poor wretches had been only harmless villagers, seized for the purpose by the lawless soldiery who attended the nawab, it would have been no worse than things which constantly take place in India—not in native states only. A great crime was never yet committed there, but the police were sure to find out some poor wretches who should suffer as the criminals, and who, they were convinced, if you believed them, were the actual perpetrators.

The extract is somewhat long, but it is instructive. It shews us what despotism in Oude really is. It is no regular and splendid system, like that of France. It is no irregular, but rough energetic mode of Government like that of Russia. It is not even a weak, suspicious, cat-like, but successful tyranny like that of Austria. It is simply an anarchy, organized occasionally when the Sovereign requires organization, and powerful while his sword is ready to protect himself. The instant the immediate pressure is withdrawn, Government is over, every one holds his own by his own right hand, and even the King's servants are without protection.

The last argument then is extinguished. If conquest is occasionally right in itself, if it is specially right, when, by refraining from it, we are supporting crime, if we are so supporting crime in Oude, and if the claims of the only person who professes to have rights are null, then Oude, we conceive, should be annexed. There is no cause for delay. Even as we write there is a faint sound of a religious war, which, at all hazards, and at any cost, must be prevented. The only method of preventing it is by annexation.

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ART. VI.—*Friend of India, July, August and September*, 1855.

THE most untoward event of the Sonthal insurrection, and the extraordinary circumstances that have accompanied it, will not fail to draw large, curious and serious attention to the state of the Mofussil of Bengal. In a part of our Empire, which was viewed as so profoundly peaceful, that the Government denuded it almost entirely of troops, where we thought of more schools, cheaper and speedier justice, new roads, bridges, libraries, dispensaries, and other luxuries of peace, as things needful, an outbreak, with details as bloody as if enacted by Red Indians in the back-woods of America, has startled us out of our complacency. Fire and slaughter have revelled in one of our securest provinces. Timorous peasants, flinging aside their timidity, have covered the country with desolation, and its inhabitants with dismay. The lieges in their neighbourhood have lost house, home, wives and daughters, coin and cattle, yea, and their own lives. Such a strange occurrence has not clouded the prosperity of the Lower Provinces of Bengal within the Anglo-Indian memory of man.

The officers of Government were almost as unprepared for this extraordinary event as the public in general. We are not surprised at this feature in the drama. What Jew looked for any good thing out of Galilee? What Anglo-Indian looked for fighting in Bengal?

The natural results are now in train. After an interlude of skirmishes, resistances and raids conducted by the local civil authorities, the military have reached the battle-ground in force. Sepoys and Sowars, in water-proof caps and capes, are scattered through the district, by companies and troops. The Governor-General's Body Guard is encamped on the banks of the Burakur. The Grand Trunk Road is lined with troops to prevent egress to the south, where a rising of the Coles has been anticipated. A Major General, a Brigadier, and two Special Commissioners conduct the campaign, and an Electric Telegraph plies between the most disturbed spot and the metropolis.

So far well; but there are other results behind. The confidence of our subjects in our rule is shaken, and in many parts they have undergone great suffering. A portion of the public is audibly grumbling at the apparent want of union and concert in the Government. The Government itself is anxiously expecting news of the view England may take of the matter, which will hardly be flattering. Public money is melt-

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ing away. Public works are at a stand-still. Especially it is to be feared, that the pet scheme of the day, the Indian Railway, has received a serious check, and will now, for some time to come, share the fate allotted by the Poet to the Alexandrine verse,

"That, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along."

To those who know by experience the 'indoles' of a true Bengalee, it would be superfluous to describe the helpless terror he has displayed on this, we confess, trying occasion. To those who do not, it would be idle, nay, impossible. The cowardice of a Bengali is indeed a thing by itself.

"*Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum.*"

Like a *pâté de foie gras* from Strasbourg, or *Eau de Cologne* from Jean Marie Farina, or shawls from Cashmere, or rose-water from Ghazeepore, cowardice from Bengal is the only genuine commodity of the name. All other specimens are but imperfect and spurious. It will suffice then, without entering into particulars, to say that, on this opportunity, it did not fail to render itself conspicuous. In what other country, on the face of the earth, would not a narrative of such an insurrection have teemed with village resistances, clownish heroisms, impromptu defences? The circumstances, we should have fancied, were sufficient

..... To make
Thersites valiant.

Among Bengalees, however, the unique adventure of the unfortunate Nazir of Sooree must supply, as well as it can, the space which should be overflowing with such exploits. Even him and his adventure his fellow countrymen do not appreciate. They say he drank wine.

Whether he drank or not, the Sonthals soon grew drunk with success. Those that were not excited with superstition, and they were few, must, we imagine, have marvelled much at their easy conquests. On they marched in their nakedness, with scarcely let or hindrance. Had they been led from the first by an enterprising chief, it is difficult to say where the mischief would have ended. Rajmahal, Moorshedabad, Sooree, Bhagulpore at least, would have been burnt and plundered. The prestige of a revolt is always great at first, and the numbers of the Sonthals, in arms or in movement, were amazing. Captain Sherwill reckoned that 2,00,000 individuals from the neighbourhood of the Damin-i-koh had left their homes. We almost wonder at their moderation and comparatively small success. For the most part, they confined themselves to the

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jungly villages, the mahajans' hoards, and the goallahs' cattle. In one or two encounters with the sepoys, however, they showed a courage ludicrously at variance with their want of skill in warfare. As matters now stand, they are not broken up, nor have they submitted. They are dying by thousands in the jungles; but at the same time there is great truth in what a Sonthal, in Mr. Biddle's employ, is reported to have said, that his revolted brethren had got plunder enough to keep them in luxury and laziness for two years to come, and were now laughing the troops to scorn.

We must here stop. Our intention is not to weary our readers with details of which the newspapers have kept them to a great extent well informed. A *Review* takes longer printing than a newspaper, and our latest intelligence would probably issue very stale from the press. We do not wish to trench on the department of the daily journals, but rather to lead our readers to a few reflections of a general kind, more suited to our grave character; and to these the insurrection now at our doors offers an applicable and a remarkable text.

We have already noticed the wide-spread surprise which the revolt occasioned. It has only, however, furnished a fresh example of that black ignorance, which, after a century of English possession, still broods over the real condition of the Bengal Mofussil. "Beyond Hyde Park," says Sir Fopling Fluster, "all is desert." "Beyond Calcutta," think many of our friends, "all is Mofussil," meaning thereby a land of black faces, all alike, a mere inferior species of ordinary Calcutta natives, Bengalis all. We will venture to stake our credit, that many of our readers, previously to the revolt, had never even heard the name of a Sonthal, although there is no lack of them even within the Ditch. As information at present stands, how should they? Bengal of course must be inhabited by Bengalis; and what are Bengalis, but the sleek, cringing sircar, the fat plausible baboo, the be-Bacon'd and be-Shakspeare'd school-boy, the lying witness, the patient coolie, whom we meet every day? These are metropolitan specimens. Provincial Bengalis are the same, unsophisticated, and uneducated; mere varieties of the timid, cunning, perfidious race, which dynasty after dynasty has conquered, used and despised. Little was it imagined that, in the very heart of Bengal, feelings were gradually forming, about to break forth, in direct antagonism to what seemed *Bengali-ism*—to slay, burn, and plunder, to throw *meum* and *tuum* completely into the shade, to wash ledgers clean with the blood of creditors, to proscribe the English, to tell the truth, and to face the sepoys.

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The appearance and demeanour of the Sonthals in revolt was as surprising to the public as the appearance at the duel of Mr. Winkle was to Dr. Slammer. He had been guided by the coat, and missed the individual. We had been deceived by a name, and had missed the reality.

All shrank like boys, who unaware,
Ranging the woods to start a hare,
Come to the mouth of a dark lair,
Where growling low a fierce old bear
Lies amid bones and blood.

The lesson we are now learning should not be thrown away. The maxim is a common and a popular one in this country, which has gone forth into legislation, government, law, procedure, education, and nearly every thing else, that India, and still more Bengal, is in itself an indivisible unit. It is allowed to have magnitude, but no parts. *Ex uno disce omnes*, is the fashionable quotation of the day. Hence universal specifics and Holloway's pills in politics have come into vogue. Generalization is looked upon as philosophical. Every pet nonsense and favorite nostrum must be catholic or unworthy of notice. Professor Holloway's pills are advertized for ague, asthma, consumption, dropsy, fever, fits, gout, and nearly every other bodily evil that flesh is heir to. Measures now-a-days are compounded after a similar prescription, for Europe, Asia, Africa and America, for Christians, Jews, Turks, and heretics, for civilization and barbarism, for Bengali, Behar man, Sonthal. "Know, 'my friend," says Dr. Sangrado, "all that is required is to 'bleed the patients, and to make them drink warm water. 'This is the secret of curing all the distempers incident to 'man. Yes, water," added he, "can cure all kinds of dropsies, 'as well as rheumatism and the green sickness; it is moreover 'excellent in fevers, where the patient burns and shivers at 'the same time, and of incredible effect even in those dis-'tempers that are imputed to cold, serous, phlegmatic humours." Dr. Sangrado is abroad again in politics.

The form that the fashion has taken in this country, is what may be called the *sanguine* form. It paints every thing far brighter than it has any right to be painted. We do not mean to say that the Government is much be-praised. Far from it. But the essential prosperity, magnificent resources, and hopeful condition of the country, are themes of which we are never tired; and we make the epithets that spring from them comprehensive and universal. All are more or less deranged on the subject. Hazlitt tells a story of a man who was so notorious for inventions, that no one could believe a word he uttered. The last act of his life apparently did not disgrace him. Finding himself

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dying, he paid all that he was worth for a passage home, went on ship-board, and employed the few remaining days he had to live in making and executing his will, in which he bequeathed large estates in different parts of England, money in the funds, rich jewels, rings, and all kinds of valuables to his old friends, who not knowing how far the force of nature could go, were not for some time convinced that all this fairy wealth had never had an existence any where but in the idle coinage of his brain, whose whims were no more. Similarly, we think, it has been the practice,—a very natural one,—of the declaimers on Indian subjects innocently to invent all kinds of prosperities for India, with which we have been taken in. "Our magnificent Empire of the East!" "Our splendid Indian possessions!" "Our prosperous civilizing rule!" "Our glorious education despatch!" and other kindred hack-phrases, have been so long and so loudly dinned into our ears, that we have begun really to fancy that it has many characteristics and properties, which come up to our idea of a fine Empire, and prosperity, and civilization; and which it certainly has not. Among other delusions, we have assumed that because in England and Europe, after a fermentation of ages, which has thoroughly mingled the materials of society, men can safely generalize in measures and Governments, the same can be done safely here. The assumption is false, as we hope to show. In fact, to transplant social maxims from England to India, is about as reasonable as it would be to transplant weather-maxims from India to England. It may safely be assumed that a measure or a Government suiting the men of York will suit the men of Salisbury. It may safely be assumed that if the sun is shining in the hot weather at Dacca, it will be shining at Patna. But the rules must not be transposed; the Indian weather-rule must not be made applicable to England, nor the English social-rule applicable to India. If so you do both are equally fallacious.

Beyond a question or a doubt, three distinct non-Mussulman nationalities at least are found in large proportions within the province under the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. They differ from one another so widely, that it would be difficult to draw a picture presenting broader contrasts. Omitting all mention of others, we intend to confine our remarks to these three, which we designate *Bengali, Behar man, and Sonthal*. We will place them before our readers in their true colours, and then enquire, or rather lead our readers to enquire, whether they are rightly classed together as indivisible component parts of our magnificent and united Empire.

We cannot then, in the first place, look for a moment at the

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men of the West, as they love to call themselves, without perceiving that they differ from Bengalis, commonly so called, as much as a Briton from a modern Greek, a German of Tacitus from a Machiavellian Italian,

"As like as Vulcan and his wife."

Picture the contrast! A fine manly fellow on the one hand, with an open countenance, and a frank heart, somewhat of a tyrant where he despises (as Englishmen are too apt to be) but tractable, affectionate and brave. This is the one people. The other finds its type, we fear, in a cringing, cowardly creature, intellectually cunning, but unsound at heart, deceitful as the father of lies, perfidious as Iago. We are sorry to write severely, but we cannot avoid the truth. An Englishman (and is he not right?) feels his heart warm towards the former, and shrinks instinctively from the latter; and he ought to grieve to think that the two are yoked together, like a horse and an ass, as if they were the best match in the world.

We are almost ashamed to cite authorities to so self-evident a fact; and have chosen the one that we quote from perhaps the commonest book of the day, to show how universally it should be acknowledged. "In taking these strong measures," says Macaulay, "Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. It 'is probable that having had little opportunity of personally 'observing any part of the population of India, except the 'Bengalis, he was not fully aware of the difference between 'their character and that of the tribes which inhabit the 'Upper Provinces. He was now in a land far more favourable 'to the vigor of the human frame than the Delta of the 'Ganges, in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found 'worthy to follow English battalions to the charge, and into 'the breach. The handful of sepoys who attended Hastings, 'would probably have been sufficient to over-awe Moorsheda-'bad or the Black Town of Calcutta. But they were unequal 'to a conflict with the hardy rabble of *Benares*."* As in bodily vigor, so in everything else, excepting religion and a few customs, the two races are apart. As well might a miserable Bengali *tattoo* be compared with an English racer, as the men of Eastern Bengal with the men of Behar. We huddle them together.

We are surprised to find that Mr. Elphinstone does not fully agree with us here. As his opinion seems partly to go against us, we quote it at once. "From whatever cause it

* Benares is just on the boundary of Behar. The late Opium Agent of Benares, we observe, is now called Opium Agent of Behar.

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'originates," he writes, "the contrast is most striking. The 'Hindustanees on the Ganges are the tallest, fairest and most 'warlike and manly of the Indians; they wear the turban, and 'a dress resembling that of the Mahometans; their houses are 'tiled, and built in compact villages in open tracts; their food 'is unleavened wheaten bread.

"The Bengalees, on the contrary, though good-looking, are 'small, black and effeminate in appearance; remarkable for 'timidity and superstition, as well as for subtilety and art. 'Their villages are composed of thatched cottages, scattered 'through woods of bamboos, or of palms: their dress is the old 'Hindu one, formed by one scarf round the middle, and another 'thrown over the shoulders. They have the practice, unknown 'in Hindustan, of rubbing their limbs with oil after bathing, 'which gives their skins a sleek and glossy appearance, and 'protects them from the effect of their damp climate. They live 'almost entirely on rice; and although the two idioms are 'more nearly allied than English and German, their language 'is quite unintelligible to a native of Hindustan.

"Yet those two nations resemble each other so much in their 'religion, and all the innumerable points of habit and manners 'which it involves, in their literature, their notions on Govern-'ment and general subjects, their ceremonies and way of life, 'that a European, not previously apprized of the distinction, 'might very possibly pass the boundary that divides them, with-'out at once perceiving the change that has taken place."*

Now supposing so much resemblance to be apparent, we question very much whether it is real. Habit is second nature; and it would be no wonder, if the men of Behar, having for so many years been huddled up with Bengalis, had been forced to believe that they were both alike. But it is not so, as we all know. It is the greatest insult that can be offered to a man of the West, to mistake, or pretend to mistake, him for a Bengali. The word is a term of reproach among themselves, constantly used—"as often as the Franks or Lombards," says Gibbon, "expressed their most bitter contempt for a foe, they 'called him *a Roman*, and in this name," says Bishop Luitprand, "we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever 'is perfidious, the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every 'vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature." The Franks did not despise the fallen Romans, the Greeks the Persians, the Romans themselves in their better days the degene-

* If it be remarked that this description refers to men, higher up than the Behar-men, we would beg the objector to visit Behar and test its accuracy there.

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rate Greeks, the Castilians the Italians, the Normans the Saxons, more heartily than a Behar man despises a Bengali.

We confess that religion, as a general rule, is a strange confounder of the races of mankind. Mother-church did good service in that way in Europe during the middle ages. The faith of Islam performed perhaps greater prodigies of the kind. The faith of Joe Smith is now performing them. But Hinduism is beside the general rule. There is nothing equalizing or levelling in its tendencies—it is like one of those ingeniously complicated machines, which operate separately on different materials, without, in any measure, mixing or confounding them. In one compartment wheat may be ground, in another barley, in a third chaff. They are all subjected to the same machine and the same process, and a deceptive degree of uniformity is attained. But in reality, in their nature, their quality and their colour, they are as different and distinct as ever—so has it been with the races of India. A common religion has not confounded them, any more than a common paganism confounded the Greeks and Romans. Nay, far less has it confounded them; for the former is an exclusive, and the latter was a comprehensive idolatry.

But we need not say more to establish the reality of the contrast we have drawn. No one, we think, would deny that it would be a manifest absurdity to maintain that the men of Behar resembled the men of Bengal, even as an Englishman does a German; and yet sensible men have often laughed at the proposal to present with English constitutions the unprepared nations of the Continent. We wish these sensible men would deign to look at Bengal.

Again, to return to the subject with which we started, the Sonthals (and we class with them other wild hill and plain tribes in Bengal) are a race wholly distinct from the above in every feature and characteristic. The discription Tacitus gives us of the ancient *Fenni* is in many points strikingly suitable to the Sonthals. It has not an expression suitable to Behar men or Bengalees. Fœda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus. Sola in sagittis spes, quas inopiâ ferri ossibus asperant, idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit, nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suflugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur"—Put the three in a row and carefully observe them. Do they look like fellow-countrymen? We know well enough that in every country there lies a vast gulf between the peer in his coach, or other conveyance, and the

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beggar on the dung-hill, between the belle of Almacks and a poor factory girl. But it is not the same kind of difference that we find here. There is a difference we know between the stage hack and the hunter, but not the same kind of difference as between an Arab and a *tattoo*.

First in the row, look at the Bengalee. In these stirring times do we not feel inclined, however well-disposed, to greet him thus?—

> In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
> As modest stillness and humility:
> But when the blast of war blows on our ears
> Then imitate the action of the tiger,
> Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood.

We end laughing. We cannot resist the sense of the ridiculous in the object of our address; for in all his phases, as a citizen, a villager, a rich man, a poor man, a rajah, a ryot, an ignoramus, a school-boy, a brahmin, a sudra, a Bengali is the antithesis of a warrior. He is dressed unlike a man of action, according to our modern ideas of dress. Physically he is weak, effeminate, sedentary, of low stature, of dark colour, of mild countenance. He possesses an intellect susceptible of the highest polish, but not of remarkable strength or vigor. Morally he is cunning, treacherous, cowardly, avaricious, a victim to a degrading superstition, and, we must add, terribly false. No nation on earth presents a more uniform surface. Natives of European States individually differ widely. It is impossible always at first sight to be certain whether an individual is an Englishman or a German, a Spaniard or an Italian. But the man must have very little sense, or very little experience, who fails to detect a Bengali under any disguise. His slender frame cannot be concealed even by occasional obesity. No swaggering will cover his constitutional cowardice. No affectation of nonchalance his characteristic cunning. No education his national peculiarities. In his case it may safely be said—*Ex uno disce omnes.*

Look next at the Behar man. Tall, manly, soldierly, leal, dashing, staunch. His colour is generally of that pale dusky hue, which is almost handsomer than European white. His temples are bound about with a turban. His loins are girt up for action. He bears on his forehead the impress of a descent and destiny totally different, we would venture to say, from that of the Bengali. But custom now classes them together, as English and Scotch might be classed. A story is told of Alexander the Great, that in his army there was a soldier of the same name, but a coward. The conqueror is reported to

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have said to him, "Either change your name or resemble me." The Behar man might reasonably express similar disgust at being confounded with his neighbour, the coward. The more one sees of him, the more one is convinced that he has nothing save religion and a name, in common with a race whose vocation is squatting, who shrinks from bodily exertion and enterprise as he would from poison. *He* loves bodily activity. He is not afraid to fight. With all his Asiatic ceremony, he has a dash of frankness and heartiness about him, which is quite delightful after the humbug of real Bengalis. Historians talk of his high spirit, his enthusiastic courage, and generous self-devotion, so singularly combined with gentleness of manners, and softness of heart, together with a boyish playfulness, and almost infantine simplicity. His faults, however, must not, in this review of his character, be overlooked. He is still afflicted with the indolence, which allowed a handful of Musalmans to overrun his country. He still smuggles opium by maunds into Chandernagore. He is still bowed down with that hateful superstition which carries him far from his home to rot around Juggernath's shrine, and confounds him to a certain extent with those whom he despises. He has still fewer ideas of personal and national independence than the backwardest of European nations. He is still uneducated, and so far uncivilized. But his character is full of promise assuredly!

Lastly look at the Sonthal and his peers, who are reasonably supposed to have been those allies of Rama, whom tradition and fiction have turned into a nation of monkeys. He, with his bow and arrow, his swine, his poultry, his buffaloe beef, his neem-leaf pottage, his savagery, his love of truth, his present love of carnage, is much out of place between his contrasting neighbours. Observe his personal appearance! His hair is bound up in a rude mass behind, which, when released, flies up in the air erect as a scrubbing brush. Gaudy beads are about his neck. He stands almost as naked as when he was born. His language, his manners, are uncouth. His intellect is blunt. He loves the impenetrable jungle, encounters with wild beasts, primitive institutions. He loves his bottle, his feast, his Gurth-like music, his savage revelry. But he has the virtues as well as the vices of a savage. This adherence to truth, which we have mentioned, is no myth or old wives' fable. It is a well-known and well-established trait in his character. This social disposition and love of mirth and jollity is no bad sign, and seems among Asiatics to indicate a consti-

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tution upon which a solid superstructure might in time be built. Even the late horrid outrages of which he has been guilty, exalt him in a certain sense above Bengalees. In personal courage he is undoubtedly their superior. However savage in other respects Bengalees might become, no degree of savagery would, we think, render them courageous.

We have so far then sketched, in a very self-evident and dull way, we fear, three distinct nationalities which exist in the Bengal mofussil. We could hardly, as we have already said, have drawn imaginary people presenting more striking contrasts to one another. Yet they are all treated as if formed after one unvarying type. Bengalee, Behar man, Sonthal are governed in one fashion, educated, if at all, according to one plan, viewed as if equally civilized, equally circumstanced; or at the very best, as if

"Thin divisions did their bounds divide."

The cause of this is that we have carried ideas, as we would merchandise, from London to Calcutta, without allowing any thing for change of circumstances in the one case as we would in the other. Centralization is the fashion at home, we have therefore made it the fashion in India, in exactly the same form which suits Lincoln and Marylebone, but is sadly out of place in Gya, Cossipore and Manbhoom. "Wherever there is centralization," says Arnold, "there is danger of the parts of the body being too much crippled in their individual action." If such is the case even under favorable circumstances, what must ensue where society is in such a disunited and crude state as to be as unfitted for centralization as for an income tax? Even this—confusion—bad, weak, deceptive Government.

But it may be urged, that although Bengal society is at present confessedly in disunion and at variance, yet that the day is rapidly approaching when a calm even surface will spread from side to side, not only of the Presidency, but of the Peninsula; that education will do wonders; that the native is plastic; that Anglo-Saxon influence is powerful; that regeneration is at hand. The present outbreak has surely almost confuted such an argument; but we offer the following remarks for the consideration of those still unconvinced. We fear they must dissipate the hopes of the most sanguine, that Bengal is even approaching the nature of a really and properly united empire.

It must be remembered that the picture of contrast we have drawn is a picture, not of individuals, but of races; and of races at present showing no tendency to amalgamation. Each

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figure is the type of a nationality, and each figure repels its neighbour. Nearly all the great crucibles, in which, in Europe or in Mahomedan countries, the heterogeneous ingredients of nations have been melted down into one homogeneous mass, are wanting here. Intermarriage, a levelling theology, convivial intercourse, social habits, scattered abodes, have hitherto had, and yet promise to have, no species of influence on the condition of Indian native society. A Bengalee never marries with, never eats with, scarcely laughs with, and never, if he can avoid it, lives with a Behar man; and Ram defend him from doing any thing of the kind with a Sonthal! Each race hates, despises, and keeps apart from the rest. We are well aware that, all the world over, such feelings and distinctions have existed at some time in the life of a nation. At the time of the Norman Conquest, for instance, a common phrase among the Normans was, 'May I be an Englishman!' meaning something of an inferior and degraded kind. But the feeling soon died out. The rival races soon amalgamated. Henry's marriage, and the religion which raised Becket to the head of the peers, revived the conquered caste. In Bengal, on the contrary, the spirit of exclusiveness seems to grow as years roll on. We look in vain for instances now, like those we read of, of Rajpoot rajahs giving their daughters in marriage to Mahomedan kings and generals. We look in vain for worthy descendants of Chand Bibi, the Joan d'Arc of the Deccan, and Dewal Devi, the mistress of Khizn Khan. The faction yclept 'Young Bengal' gains, we believe, a few proselytes in and about Calcutta. But they are not to be compared with the princely and liberal-minded Akbar. Every thing else in the wide universe seems to progress: Japan throws open her ports: China is revolutionized: England and France are allies: Railways and Electric Telegraphs span the earth; but Indian society changes not. It stands still in the midst of perpetual motion. It is almost the only thing of the present day to satisfy the *laudatores temporis acti*. Hindu, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, as Sir Charles Metcalfe says, reign by turns; but they have comparatively no effect on Indian society. What has been said of the Roman Catholic Church may be said with greater truth of the Hindu social and religious polity, that it saw the commencement of all the Governments and religions that now exist in the world, and that we feel no assurance that it is not destined to see the end of them all.

It is thus, we think, established that Bengal society presents most incongruous elements, and that there is little or no pros-

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pect of speedy decomposition or amalgamation. Society here is not in a state of projection, as society was in Europe during the middle ages. We do not therefore want centralizing Governments, like those of Louis XI. and Henry VII. The time has not yet come for such refinements (simple though they be) of policy. We have to deal with rude primitive masses, which are not yet prepared for union, and to unite which prematurely, as we fear we have done, is to ruin them. We will explain what we mean by a homely illustration. Every body knows Sydney Smith's recipé for a salad, beginning with :—

> "Two large potatoes passed through kitchen sieve
> Unwonted softness to the salad give,
> Of mordent mustard add a single spoon ;
> Distrust the condiment, which bites too soon :
> But deem it not, thou man of herbs, a fault,
> To add a double quantity of salt."

Here are three ingredients which combine admirably enough. But they require preparation before mixture. For instance, it would never do to fill the salad bowl with raw potatoes, with mustard seeds, and with salt water. The melée would be very different from what we expected. Until the roots are boiled, the seeds pounded, and the salt extracted, the ingredients must be kept apart. Nothing but mischief would ensue from a pre mature combination. Such is the argument we use with regard to Bengal. When Bengalee, Behar man and Sonthal are prepared for amalgamation, deal with them as if one. Till that time, make the most of each of them separately.

Long ago Sir John Malcolm wrote :—"There is no cause 'produces such bad effects in our Government in India, as the 'continued effort to apply the same general rules, principles, 'and institutions to every part of our extended and diversified 'empire. This is perceptible not only in the measures of the 'Government : it is to be found in almost all the writings 'published from observation of particular provinces, but ren-'dered general in their application by the ignorance or vanity 'of the authors." Since Malcolm wrote, how vastly has the extent of our empire stretched ! Has it meanwhile proportionately improved in uniformity ? We of course allow that Government and its institutions have assumed a more uniform character. That is what we are complaining of. The body of the law is more uniform. The practice of the courts is more uniform. Educational establishments are more uniform. Post office arrangements are more uniform. But we must maintain that society, that the body of the people, show very few signs

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of varying, or shadow of change, and no signs of uniformity. Still the fashion is to suppose such uniformity. Want of it appears unworthy of a great empire, and a great people. Hamlet advises Polonius to treat the players after his own honor and dignity, rather than according to their deserts. In good sooth, we appear to have taken the same course with Bengal and India.

The question really is, which shall undergo the Procrustean process, the people or the Government; or, to speak more correctly, can the people be moulded to the Government in the same way as Government can be moulded to the wants of the people? Under our present circumstances, we fear not, except with a terrible mutilation. Queen Charlotte, it is said, proposed cutting off the feet and legs of Raphael's cartoons to make them fit certain apartments at Kew. We have, we think, in a similar manner, attempted to get rid of the lower extremities of Indian society in our recent theories of uniformity. We have just been reminded of their existence, and we must recognize them for the future.

But it may be said, why all this pother about a form of Government? The simple object of Government should be to protect the lives, property, and reputations of its subjects. To effect these ends, the varying phases of society require little variety of means. A good Government is something positive, not relative. In Europe we should have almost subscribed to this doctrine. We are Liberals, Free-traders, Let-alones, Macaulay-ites, advocates of the *Laissez faire* system, in spite of Carlyle, beyond Egypt. But in India we find our principles and axioms thrown off their equipoise. We find the *Edinburgh Review* saying—"Even we, who detest paternal 'Governments in general, shall admit that the duties of the 'Government of India are to a considerable extent paternal." We find men like Mr. Macaulay coming out here, determined ridical reformers, and returning to England liberal conservatives, as regards India, to say the least. We find political economy out of place, and its professors at fault. The reasonable deduction we think is, that the subject of Indian Government must be handled in a different manner from the manner in which the subject of European Government is or ought to be handled. Here its duty goes far beyond the mere protection of life, goods and honor. It must penetrate deeper below the surface of society, and to do so, it must, we maintain, take cognizance of national diversities, so glaring as those that exist in the very heart of Bengal. Else—we are experiencing now

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the alternative—we fall into Cato's fault, a virtuous one indeed, but mischievous as the most vicious.—"Cato optimè sentit, sed 'nocet interdum reipublicæ; loquitur enim tanquam in repub-'licâ Platonis, non tanquam in fœce Romuli."

We then arrive at the conclusion, that Government and its institutions should be framed to suit the existing features of society, not rudely to attempt to obliterate them. Government is a hard thing, but it must yield, we believe, before a harder than it—an uncongenial state of society, deeply rooted nationalities, widely separated races, discordant feelings and civilizations. It is the old story of Dame Partington and the Atlantic ocean, if they come to a struggle. In the midst of a tremendous storm, we are told, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house, with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea-water and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but the contest was unequal. The Atlantic ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest.

Our readers will now, we fear, be exclaiming—*Cui bono?* Where is the practicality that is to top all this declamation? What application can be made of the above principles, so laboriously deduced? How can Government and Government institutions take cognizance of the national diversities that exist in the country, further than they do? To answer these questions, we must come to a clear understanding of the *status quo* of present affairs.

In olden times, when a Nawab was reigning at Moorshedabad, and oriental despotism was rampant throughout the Peninsula, classification was not an urgent want; all the Indian world was bound hand and foot, and laid upon its back. Questions about measures and degrees were then manifestly ridiculous. All mankind was alike concerned in escaping from projection on the back, which was clearly a position totally unsuitable to humanity; and the magnitude and universality of that concern swallowed up all distinctions. Even after the succession of our English rule, we were for a time compelled to adopt a degree of vigor and despotism, which ignored all shades of distinction. We lifted our subjects off the ground, but we still kept fetters upon them. After a time, we loosed their hands and feet, but still kept rings in their noses. But now the liberality of modern days has gone so far as to declare that their very noses are to be free. Now then come distinc-

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tions into play. We have left far behind the region of tyranny, and are emerging fast on the region of *Laissez faire*. It is here then, we think, that Government should pause, and consider whether it is not going too fast; and if it finds that it has overstepped reason, in awarding civilized institutions to savage society, it should rectify the mistake before the opportunity has passed away.

To apply all this, is the next point. We have not space to enter on minute particulars; nor must the soundness of our propositions be risked by their applications. The few remarks we append, do not aim at completeness, or exclude other proposals based upon the axioms we have laid down above. But, as they seem to us sound, we briefly record them for what they may be worth.

The Sonthal is simply a savage, and to hang about his neck certificates of fraternity and equality, to treat him as if civilized, to make mouths at rough treatment of him, is simply absurd. Since the world began, a practical distinction has always been drawn between savage and unsavage society, except by maudlin poets and philosophers. A savage man must, in many respects, be treated like a savage beast. He must be kept apart, he must be coerced into obedience, and powerfully deterred from revolt. A wild bull from the woods must be treated differently from a bull calved in a cow-house. This fact, it seems to us, must be looked boldly in the face, before the question, what is to be done with the Sonthals, can be solved or even understood. We must not fear to avow that there are savages in the heart of our peaceful, our unwarlike, our civilized Bengal, who were savages when we first assumed the Government, and are just as much savages still.

Nature has done much to banish further difficulty. The savages occupy a continuous and easily defined tract of jungle, instead of being scattered about the country. They seldom pass, or wish to pass, beyond that tract. They are naturally a quickly pleased and contented people, and have not yet been spoiled, as Bengalees have been, by a prospect of the sweets, without the bitters, of self-Government :—

> Give him his lass, his fiddle, and his frisk,
> He's always happy, reign whoever may.

A military, vigorous, despotic, interfering, paternal Government then, that would be bold enough to cast unsuitable maxims of political economy to the winds, and disclaim the cant of liberalism, might do great things for them. The country must be relieved, if possible, of the weighty refinements

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of the regulation provinces, which, with circular orders and other weights, are too heavy for it to bear in its present unformed state. Dr. Johnson is reported to have written in 'Taxation, no Tyranny,' "we do not put the calf under the yoke; we wait till he becomes an ox." We would argue similarly with regard to the Sonthals. There is a time for every thing. The present time is a time for vigorous despotism. The future, we hope, may be a time for liberalism and Englishism.

The fact is, something of the kind must be done; or the savages must be treated as Mr. Brown suggested, and shot down like bears and tigers wherever met. They must either be kept apart from the rest of the country, or share the fate of the aborigines of Australia and the Red Indians of America. As long as they are left as now, there will be no security against future out-breaks as disastrous, or even more, than the one we are witnessing. The residue of our subjects will be in constant fear, and our Government in continual disfavor. It is a well-known fact that many of the zemindars near the disturbed parts have expelled every Sonthal on their estates, although not among the insurgents, and are most unwilling to allow any of them to return. This, in a part of the country, where ryots are wealthy, is a clear proof how the very name of a Sonthal is a bug-bear.

All talk of immediate striking examples, and deterring influences to arise from a campaign, appears to us to be delusive. A campaign will not make savages civilized, or indeed have much effect, after its attendant horrors are at an end. A campaign is now, however, a most improbable event. The insurgents are again in arms, it is true; but as soon as the military again takes the field, they will disappear. Unresisting men cannot, to any great extent, be shot down; nor can our jails be deluged with thousands of supposed traitors. The only outlet from this dilemma is the system which has now begun, of proclamations and pardons, which will be very far from making atonement, or furnishing security against the like in future.

We confess, in Carlyle's words, that "it would be infinitely 'handier if we had a Morrison's pill, which men could swallow 'one good time, and then go on in their old courses, cleared 'from all miseries and mischiefs." That is what men are looking for now in regard to the Sonthal affair. They want to know the way to wash out the stain that has fallen on our magnificent, our united, our civilized empire, with one swab; and then to go on, as if nothing of the kind had happened or could ever happen again.

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But as no such pill is to be found, we firmly believe, something more tedious, and at first sight less satisfactory, must evidently be done. We leave our readers to digest our proposal. If adopted, however, it must, as we have said, be carried out in a bold, straight-forward way, which would, no doubt, be subject to much misconstruction and abuse. No matter; if it be right and honest.

Next, what is to be done with the Bengalees? They are certainly not savages; and yet what are they? Are they civilized or uncivilized? Calcutta philanthropists will, we suppose, decide for the former alternative; but we may doubt whether they are justified in doing so. If civilization mean merely softness of character and manner, we allow that they are civilized. If civilization mean a spread of education, erection of public works, commercial pursuits and such like, we allow that the country is civilized. But if civilization mean that wholesome and prosperous state of society fitted for self-government, that good hearty condition, as Leigh Hunt has it, "a state of manhood befitting man," we cannot save ourselves from saying that Bengal of the Bengalees is not civilized. Civilization, in its highest sense, means a manly, vigorous, national existence at its zenith. We decline to award the name either to effete or to weak infantine societies. The Bengalees are in one or other of these positions. It is difficult to determine in which. But between the two alternatives, we may gather that Bengal civilization is not yet. We cannot help suspecting that there are one or two elements wanting, without which true civilization is utterly unattainable.

Bengal of the Bengalees is a land of cowards and liars; and what remark can convey a more signal proof of hopelessness? A race of savages is more hopeful than a race of cowards and liars. Germs of civilized manliness may lie deep in the former; but the latter is a stock on which little good can be engrafted. What is to be done with a nation of cowards? Clearly build gymnasia for them, march them hither and thither, make soldiers *(risum teneatis!)* of them, make camps of them, put them through the goose step, drill them, morning, noon and night, knock them about in every way conceivable. This surely is the *first* thing for them. We know all this. Mr. Hodgson Pratt has been shouting it in our ears as loudly as befitted him. And yet we sit and will not do any thing. On the contrary, we positively encourage, by every means in our power, the wretched cross-legged, indolent, effeminate, disposition, which is the bane of Bengal. We send darogahs in spec-

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tacles to take care of disturbed districts. We pick up the most decrepid, used-up, blear-eyed, helpless book-worm we can find from the bench of a school where he is in his element, to seat him on the magisterial bench, where he is like a monkey in breeches, or a cat on walnut-shells. The very Bengalees laugh at him. He cannot stir beyond his catchery. Bless you! No! He has a thousand alarms to stop him. A tiger may be in the path! Some dangerous dacoits may be prowling about! His worship may catch a cold, or a fever, or the cholera! Kya jàne! These are the kind of men whom we delight to honor, in whose persons we encourage, as effectually as we can, the rotten state of society from which they spring.

We do not wish to hurt the feelings of worthy individuals. In fact, we believe that every thinking Bengalee must agree with us in deploring the degradation of his race. We believe that he truly feels what Massinger puts into the mouth of a degenerate Syracusan :—

> " O shame! that we, that are a populous nation
> Engaged to liberal nature, for all blessings
> A (country) can bring forth ; we that have limbs
> And able bodies ; shipping, arms, and treasure,
> The sinews of the war, now we are called
> To stand upon our guard, cannot produce
> One fit to be a (soldier)..."

Bengal of the Bengalees is plainly then in no good way. A Morrison's pill of baboos in Council, or on the Suddur Bench, in whatever numbers, will not cure its distemper. We are curious to see what the new educational regime in the hands of Mr. Pratt, will effect. In the mean while it must not forget its degradation. It must be ground down. It must be kept low, even in the dust. It is but a race of women, not men!

We have reserved a few words for the Behar men. How must they be treated? Like a noble and generous race, as they are, which is not yet, but may soon be civilized.

> Be to their faults a little blind,
> Be to their virtues very kind.

They require a treatment as much removed from pure despotism on the one hand as from Governmental neglect on the other. A love of freedom should be fostered among them by judicious means ; for in many respects they are worthy of it : but free institutions must not be forced on them too suddenly.

Nec cogente quidem, sed nec prohibente.

Liberty, like every medicine, must be taken in small doses at

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first. Still, their manliness, the generosity of their character, their natural intelligence, entitle them to freedom. One requirement only remains, and that is *education*: educate them, and free them from superstition, and they will be one of the finest races on God's earth. There is, we believe, a gentleman in the Civil Service of the North Western Provinces, who prides himself on his descent from Hindustani blood. We can almost sympathize with his feelings; although for our part, we confess, we prefer British ancestry.

Our tale is now told, and our paper at an end. We do not venture to prophesy;—

> Heaven from all creatures hides the Book of Fate,
> All but the page prescribed—the present state.

The present state of things, however, we have shown to be highly unsatisfactory and anomalous. We hope the Legislature will not long leave it so. As it is, in looking at Bengal, we are inclined to borrow from Mrs. Malaprop her well-known remark,—"Ay, Sir, there's no more trick, is there? You are not like Cerberus, three gentlemen at once, are you"?

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ART. VII.—1. *The Nannul, an Original Tamil Grammar. By Pavananti.*

2. *Grammars of the Common and High Dialect of the Tamil Language, by the Rev. Constantius Joseph Beschi, Jesuit, Missionary in the Kingdom of Madura.*

3. *Rudiments of Tamil Grammar, by Robert Anderson, of the Madras Civil Service. London,* 1821.

4. *A Grammar of the Tamil Language, by the Rev. C.T.E. Rhenius, Missionary C. M. S.* 1836.

5. *Oriental Manuscripts in the Tamil Language: translated with Annotations. By William Taylor, Missionary. 2 vols.* 1835.

6. *A Dictionary of the Tamil and English Languages. By the Rev. J. P. Rottler, D. Ph. Edited by the Rev. W. Taylor.*

7. *Translations of the Kural of Tiruvalluvar. By F. W. Ellis, Esq., and Rev. W. H. Drew.*

WE need no apology for introducing our readers to the knowledge of a language, which is emphatically called *Ten Mozhy*, or Southern speech, in opposition to *Vada Mozhy*, or Northern speech, *i. e.*, the Sanskrit. Among the nineteen vernacular languages of India, we think the Tamil has especial claims on the attention of scholars, not only as being a rival of the ancient Sanskrit, but as being rich in indigenous literature, and opening an extensive field for philological research and ethnological science. If the Sanskrit is, as its name imports, a thoroughly finished language,—the Tamil is, as its name signifies, a sweet and harmonious tongue. *Drávida*, or *southern*, is the name by which it is known in Sanskrit books. Colebrooke, in his *Dissertation on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages*, derives the name *Tamil*, which he writes *Tamla*, from *Tamraparna*, the name of the river in Tinnevelly. Tamil writers themselves have no such idea; they confine their speculations on the term to *sweetness*; and who that knows any thing of its flowing poetry and melodious song, will deny the language this peculiar appellation?

The language is spoken by a population of more than eight millions, being current throughout South India from Cape Comorin to Vengadam, a mountain sacred to Vishnu, about 100 miles north of Madras. It is also the language of the eastern and northern parts of Ceylon. It is more or less connected with Canarese, Maleali and other dialects in the Madras Presidency, constituting the speech of more than twenty millions of people.

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In an able article, forming an *Introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar*, Mr. Francis W. Ellis, whose knowledge of the various spoken dialects of Peninsular India, added to his acquirements as a Sanskrit scholar, constitutes him a great authority, has proved, in opposition to Carey, Wilkins, Colebrooke, and others, that the Tamil is not derived from the Sanskrit, but is an original language. Babington, the translator of *Beschi*, a competent judge on the subject, in his preface to the adventures of *Gooroo Paramarian*, says:—

"'The Tamil is not derived from any language at present in 'existence, and is either itself the parent of the Telugu, 'Malealam and Canarese languages; or, what is more 'probable, has its origin in common with these in some 'ancient tongue, which is now lost, or only partially preserved 'in its offspring.' In its more primitive words, such as 'the names of natural objects, the verbs expressive of 'physical action or passion, the numerals, &c., it is quite 'unconnected with the Sanskrit, and what it thence so 'largely borrowed, when the Tamils, by intercourse with 'the more enlightened people of the North, began to emerge 'from barbarity, has reference to the expression of moral 'sentiments and abstract metaphysical notions, and is chiefly 'to be found in the colloquial idiom. In this remarkable 'circumstance, and also in the construction of its alphabet, the 'Tamil differs much from the other languages of the South, 'which are found to admit the Sanskrit more largely in lite-'rary and poetical compositions than in the ordinary dialect 'of conversation, and which adopt the arrangement of the 'Sanskrit alphabet with scarcely any variation. The higher 'dialect of the Tamil, on the contrary, is almost entirely free 'from Sanskrit words and idioms, and the language retains 'an alphabet which tradition affirms to have heretofore con-'sisted of but sixteen letters, and which, so far from resem-'bling the very perfect alphabet of the Sanskrit, wants nearly 'half its characters, and has several letters of peculiar powers. 'Since, therefore, as might have been expected from its geo-'graphical situation, the Tamil language has stronger traces 'of originality than any of the cognate dialects of Southern 'India, it is, with propriety, taken first in the order of study, 'and he who adds a knowledge of this southern tongue to the 'more polished language of the north, has more than half 'accomplished the acquisition of all the Hindu languages of 'India."

Taking the *Nannul* for our guide, we shall endeavour, in the

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first place, to set forth the principles and peculiarities of the language, before we draw any conclusion regarding its connection and origin.

The Tamil has two dialects, namely, the high, and the low. The classical or learned dialect is called *Shen Tamil* (*Shen* or *Sem* meaning perfection.) The vulgar or colloquial dialect is called *Kodum Tamil* (*Kodum* meaning rude.) The *Nannul* specifies three kinds of Tamil, viz., the *Iyal*, *Isai*, and *Nádaka Tamil*, *i. e.*, the Prose, Poetic, and Dramatic Tamil. The last contains a mixture of both prose and poetry, as well as of the high and low dialects.

The Shen Tamil or high dialect is remarkable for its conciseness and copiousness. It is the pliant and glowing language of the Tamil poets. The Kodum Tamil is the spoken language of the people. All business is transacted in this dialect. All stories and prose translations are written in it; while the one is for ornament, the other is for use. We may be familiar with the one without comprehending the other. It strikes us that the same analogy exists between these dialects as between the Sanskrit and the Prakrit. The high dialect, however, must have been the more ancient, for the hill tribes, supposed to be the aborigines, use more of the high than the low Tamil words. The Tamil scholars of the present day, not natives, (for they would adhere to what is fixed and ancient), combine both the dialects in their writings and translations.

The Tamil alphabet consists of thirty letters, viz., twelve vowels, and eighteen consonants. They may be represented in Roman characters thus :—

Vowels.	Short	a	i	u	e	o	
	Long	á	í	ú	é	ó	
	Diphthongs	ai		av			
Consonants.	Hard	k	ch(s)	d	th	p	r
	Soft	n.	ṉ	n	n	m	ṉ
	Medial	y	r	l	v	zh	ḷ

Comparing this with the Sanskrit alphabet, it will be perceived that the Tamil rejects all aspirates. The vowels e o, and the consonants zh, ṟ, ṉ, and ḷ* are peculiar to it: words in which these letters occur are exclusively Tamil, and they have no letters in the Sanskrit to express them. The Tamil retains the क, च, ट, न, and प, of the Sanskrit, and rejects

* ḷ This letter, however, occurs in Sanskrit Vedic words, and is given in Wilson, ळ-tr.

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all the aspirates and corresponding soft consonants, as well as all the sibilants. The second consonant ch is made to express *s* also. The Sanskrit sibilants and the aspirate ह h, are introduced into some books in the *Grandonic* characters. The Tamil has no *visargah* nor *anuswara*. The most difficult letter for a European to pronounce is the *zh*, or as some represent it *rl*. Even some of the natives skip over it by substituting *l* or *y* instead.

Mr. Ellis thinks the Tamil letters are totally different from the Sanskrit *Devanagari*; we think otherwise. The Tamil and its parent, the *Grandonic*, are evidently derived from the *Devánagari*. A close inspection and comparison of the Tamil alphabet, with the elements of the *Devanagari* characters given in Wilkins and Williams' Grammars, will prove that the one is derived from the other. The Tamil characters, however, are formed with a view to an easy flow in writing.

The vowel is very expressively called *uyir*, *life* or *soul*; and the consonant *mey*, *body*; and the compound or syllabic letter *uyirmey—soul and body*. The *Nannul* only admits of three original vowels, viz.; a i u. As in Sanskrit, the vowels are represented as medials and finals by certain signs, and the first vowel is inherent in all consonants. A dot (*viramah*) is placed over the quiescent or mute consonants, which are divided, according to the distribution of Greek mutes, into three classes, as indicated above.

The Tamil consonants, rejecting as it does all the aspirates and corresponding letters of the Sanskrit, represent them all, but of course, in an imperfect and inconvenient way. No other combination of consonants is admitted than the duplication of mutes, and the junction of the nasal and the mute.

We have not been able to ascertain where Mr. Babington, and some others after him, got their information of there having been only sixteen letters originally in Tamil.

The combination and permutation of letters, called *Sandhi*, are as refined as in the Sanskrit. Grammatical rules on this subject were given more for poetical compositions. In official papers they are entirely neglected, and admitted in printed Christian books only when absolutely necessary. The Madras Bible Society have come to the noble resolution of printing each word *separately and in its natural form*, without change or addition of letters: excepting in the case of compound forms of expression, and in such words as are united according to the usage of good writers. The Sandhi is also

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omitted in all cases where a comma or other marks may be used ; and when retained, the words are not separated : this certainly facilitates reading, and allows the eye to run over a passage and catch its meaning.

The *Nannul* admits only four parts of speech, viz., the noun, the verb, the particle, and the adjective. There is no article. The pronoun is included in the noun ; the prepositions or properly post-positions, conjunctions, and interjections in the particle, and the adverb in the adjective.* There is only one declension of nouns, and not many as in Sanskrit, which has as many declensions as there are terminations of nouns. There are eight cases, which with very few exceptions, have the same terminations. There are only two numbers. The gender is simple and natural. Every word according to its sex and nature is called he, she, or it. Six common relations of nouns are specified, viz., substance, place, time, parts, quality and action, to which every noun is referred in construction. All nouns, besides being divided into common and proper, causal and arbitrary, are also divided into two grand classes *(jāti)*, viz., the superior and inferior class. Names of men, gods, and demons belong to the superior class. Names of all animate and inanimate things belong to the inferior class.

Personal pronouns and nouns have two plural forms, both of which are sometimes used as honorifics, designed to mark superiority in the person to whom they are addressed. Verbs used with such nominatives change their terminations accordingly. Example :—

Nān I. *Nam* or *Nangal* We (by way of honorific, I)
Nī Thou *Nir* or *Ningal* Ye You (by way of honorific, Thou)
Avan He, *Aval* She } *Avar* or *Avargal* They { (by way of honorific, He, She)

There is another peculiarity in the use of the plural *núm* and *núngal*. *Nām* includes both speaker and hearer ; as in the sentence *we are all sinners*. *Nāngal* excludes those spoken to, and is the proper correlative of *nīngal*, ye. In addressing the deity, it is common to use the plural *nīr*, *devarir*, literally, ye *gods!* This usage is frequently violated by Europeans ; and there are certain individuals who have the hardihood to introduce innovations in the Tamil and Telugu Scriptures, and to use the singular *nī* in addresses to the Deity, because they think it is more grammatical, and because some of the native authors have thus used it.

* The noun is called *Peyar, name.*

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We shall only note the Tamil numerals, and where they agree with the Greek and Sanskrit :—

Onru or Oru	One	ἑν	(इन)
Reridu	Two	δυο	द्वि
Mūridru	Three	τρεις	त्रि
Nāl or Nangu	Four		
Ainthu	Five	πεντε	पञ्चन्
Aru	Six		
Ezhu	Seven		
Ettu	Eight	ὀκτω.	अष्टन्
Onpathu	Nine		
Paththu	Ten		

The Tamil verb is not so complex as the Sanskrit. It is termed *vinai*, *action ;* and is divided into three parts, viz., the *root*, the *termination*, indicating person or thing; and the *particle*, or intermediate augment, showing time. There is an exact correspondence in the termination between the demonstrative pronouns and the third persons of verbs. A Tamil verb possesses only three original moods, viz., the indicative, imperative, and the infinitive. The optative and subjunctive are added. The last three are formed directly from the indicative in various ways. The imperative is generally the root. The indicative has three tenses, formed on a very simple method, and each tense has three persons ; and the genders are indicated by characteristic terminations in the third person singular and neuter plural. The six incidents of the verb are, *the agent*, *instrument*, *place*, *action*, *time and object*. This part of Tamil grammar is beautifully simple and clear.

All verbs have a *causative form*, made from the future indicative—Thus, from *nadappēn*, I will walk, are formed the following causatives :—

Nadapikkiren	I cause to walk.
Nadapikkaray	Thou causest to walk.
Nadapikkeran	He causes to walk.

There is also a double or reflex causal verb, but seldom used. The Tamil language has a *negative verb*, which without the aid of particles conveys a negative signification. Anderson in his Grammar, remarks : " The formation of a negative verb, by the mere removal (except in the third person neuter and its derivatives) of the several characteristic augments of the *affirmative*, is one of the striking peculiarities of the Tamil language." From the root *nada*, walk, and from the indicative *nadakkiren*, I walk, is formed the negative *nadavén*, I will not walk.

In connection with verbs the *defective* or auxiliary words are

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to be considered. They are the participles and gerunds, which are constantly used in Tamil sentences. Participles supply the place of relative pronouns, which, except in the interrogative forms, do not exist in Tamil: as *avan thantha panam ithu*, 'this (is) the money (which) he gave.' *Thantha* is a participle: there is no substantive or finite verb in the sentence, which in Tamil, as in Sanskrit, is frequently suppressed and understood. The verbal participle, or as Beschi calls it the gerund, is analogous to the compound perfect participle in English, as *vanthu pōnán*, 'having come, he is gone.'

The *vinaikuripu* or symbolic word is peculiar to Tamil; we know of no other language in which it exists. It exhibits in a striking light the scientific refinement of the high dialect. Appellatives which are declined like common nouns abound in the language. Symbolic words are somewhat different; they have the form and regimen of both nouns and verbs. As, in common with other languages, the verbal noun, in Tamil, is liable to inflection, so by a remarkable interchange of the properties peculiar to different parts of speech, its symbolic words are liable to be conjugated as verbs. Of the six incidents of the verb, already enumerated, the symbolic word, or nominal derivative, indicates only the first, viz., *the agent*, and is conjugated through each person, gender, aud number; but is entirely indefinite as to mood, tense, &c. It is employed mostly in high Tamil, and is usually formed from a root or primitive noun, used chiefly as an adjective. It may also be formed from any noun. Thus from *adi*, step, foot, root, servitude, is formed *adiyen*, I your servant, &c. The existence of a conjugated derivative gives the Tamil a peculiarity of idiom, and the stamp of originality.

The structure and idiom of the language are, we think, very simple and natural. Tamil grammarians do not treat of Syntax apart from Etymology. There are only two parts of a sentence, the subject and object, or the subject and predicate. The subject always precedes the finite verb, which concludes the sentence. The most important of the dependent words is placed nearest to its principal, and the least important farthest from it. The adjective always precedes the substantive. The adverb precedes the verb. The infinitive precedes the governing verb. The negative branch of a sentence precedes the affirmative. The comparative precedes that which is compared. The similitude precedes that which is similar. The genitive precedes the governing noun. The cause precedes the effect. The reason precedes the inference. The purpose precedes the determination. The condition or supposition pre-

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cedes the consequence. These simple and natural rules are fully exemplified in Rhenius' Grammar, of which they occupy nearly 200 pages.

In active transitive verbs, both the subject and object precede the verb; as, *nān avanai aditten*: 'I him beat.' The English sentence; *The man who came here yesterday*, would be reversed in Tamil, thus: yesterday here (who) came (the) man.

Adjectives admit of no variation of form to express gender, number or case, or even degrees of comparison. The comparative is expressed by the dative or ablative case of the noun. As—"this is better than that," would be, *to that this is better*: the superlative is expressed by *of all*, as, "God is greatest," would be, *of all, God (is) great.*

The remarkable idiom of the language is said by Anderson, to be, "in point of terseness, energy, and spirit, perhaps unrivalled."—(p. 134). Dr. Schmid, a fellow labourer with Rhenius, and a good linguist, gives this testimony:—* "The mode of collocating its words follows the logical or intellectual order, more so than even the Latin or Greek." He adduces a passage from Horace, in which the rules of Tamil collocation are strictly observed; so that in translating it into Tamil, we need not change the position of a single word; we quote the passage for the benefit of those who are fond of translating:—

"Linguenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur."

Carm. Lib. II., Ode 13.

We shall give an example, too, which cannot but be translated word for word—Here it is:—

Isocrates orator unam orationem viginti talentis vendidit.
Isocrates endra (called) prasingi oru prasangatai irupathu ponnukhu virtan.

Or let us take another shorter Latin sentence, and put it into Tamil and Sanskrit, and see how they stand.

Illi multa res est
Avanŭku mikka porul undu.
Tasya bahu dhanam asti.
To him much money is.

After this we need not say with Mr. Percival in his *Land of the Vedas*, that "the idiom or syntax of the language is widely-different from that of the Indo-Germanic tongues; and for the most part the order of arrangement is the opposite of that

* Rhenius' Life, p. 564.

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which is followed by them." We quote however the following passage, from his interesting book, with much pleasure :—

"Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal 'brevity; and it may be asserted that no human speech is 'more close and philosophic in its expression, as an exponent of 'the mind. The sequence of things, of thought, purpose, action 'and its results, is always maintained inviolate. Rank and sta-'tion are provided for by the use of various pronouns, extend-'ing to several degrees of honorific expression. The lan-'guage teems with words expressive of the different degrees 'of affinity. Where in European languages a long periphrasis 'would be required, Tamil presents the thing in its own single 'term: and this fecundity extends to all the ramifications of 'the family tree. If I speak of a sister I may either take a 'word that gives the relationship subsisting between us, or I 'may select one that will indicate our relative ages. Measures 'and divisions of time are equally minute and expressive. 'The language, thus specific, gives to the mind a readiness 'and clearness of conception, whilst its terseness and philoso-'phic idiom afford equal means of lucid utterance."

Other characteristic points in the language might be specified; but we deem it necessary to add a few of the very common roots and words peculiar to Tamil, to enable philologists to determine its place in the classification of languages. They are: *udu*, clothe; *edu*, take; *kodu*, give; *padu*, become, suffer, lie down; *vidu*, quit, leave; *pira* to bring forth, to be born (Latin *pario*); *udai*, break; *vai*, place; *po*, go; *kan*, see; *sey*, do; *kal*, learn; *kol*, kill; *chol*, tell; *nil*, stand; *vil*, sell; *thin*, eat; *odu*, run; *kattu*, tie; *padu*, sing; *podu*, put; *múdu*, shut; *thira*, open; *para*, fly; *mara*, forget; *ká*, watch; *thá*, give; *theri*, know; *vá*, come; *avá*, desire; *kudi*, drink; *arí*, know. Some of the very common nouns are; *tharai*, earth, (Latin *terra*); *ván*, sky, heaven; *vazhy*, way, (Latin, *via*); *ān*, man; *pen*, woman (English *hen*); *magan*, son; *magal*, daughter; *thalai*, head; *muriju*, face; *kan*, eye; *pal*, teeth; *na*, tongue; *udal*, body; *uyir*, life; *kal*, foot; *kai*, hand; *pasi*, hunger; *nāyiru*, sun; *nilā*, moon; *aram*, virtue; *maram*, vice.

The classic word for God is *Kadavul*, and one of the significations given to it is *good*. Here we have the Saxon word *God*, the Gothic *Guth*, the German *Gott*, the Danish and Swedish *Gud*, and the Persian *Khoda*; and it is pleasing to know, that people so far apart from one another, worship God under the same name.

Mr. Percival says that he has been informed by those competent to give information, *that there is a striking similarity*

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between the Tamil and the Scythian tongues—(*p.* 94.)* Mr. Hoisington, of the American Mission in Ceylon, in a paper published in the *American Oriental Journal*, traces analogies between the Tamil and Hebrew. His account of the history and relations of the language is not unworthy of a place in our pages. He says:

"There is reason to believe, that India was originally settled ' by two branches from the family of Shem. One branch came ' in at the north-west, across the Indus; the other at the ' south-west, by sea. The language of the latter branch of ' this Indo-Shemitic family was Tamil. This may be shown ' in several ways.

"(The *Muni Agustya* is claimed by the *Tamilars*, to be the ' father of their purer, or high dialect. He prescribed its ' grammatical rules, and polished the language.) This Agastya ' is said to have resided on the hill Pothiya, which belonged ' to the Pandian kingdom. It was not the Pothiya of the ' north, another name for Tibet. It is stated in the *Ramayana* ' that Rama, the hero of the earliest of the Hindu epics, on ' his first visit to the south, found Agastya in that region, as ' the head of a company of Rishis. (This would seem to esta- ' blish the existence of the Tamil, as the language of the ' south of India, as early, at least, as 1200 B. C. It had then ' already received its distinctive poetic character, which marks ' the high dialect. As the language of the masses, it must ' therefore have existed much earlier.)

"Some of the best authors among the natives of Southern ' India, admit (that the father of their pure Tamil dialect was ' from the north of India, where the Tamil was the native ' language, and where he learned the Sanskrit.) This accords ' with recently developed facts respecting the relation of the ' Tamil to the aboriginal tribes of Northern India, which go, ' with augmented force, to indicate that the *Tamil was the* ' *original language of all India.* The dominion of the Sanskrit ' over this early language, has been like the conquests of the ' Hindus, whose proper language it was, over the earlier tribes, ' extending gradually from the north-west and being nearly ' complete in the fields of its first conquest; but less so at ' the south."

"Again, this position is confirmed by a reference to the ' Bible. The five articles mentioned in 1*st Kings x.* 22, were ' all to be obtained in Ceylon and Southern India, and it was

* In the recent Numbers of the Asiatic Researches there are some interesting papers on this subject; but we have not seen them.

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'believed collectively in no other place. In that passage the 'word rendered peacock, *tōkai*, is *a pure Tamil word*, a primi- 'tive triliteral dissyllabic term. It is not found in Sanskrit, 'nor in any other Indian language not allied to the Tamil. 'Some lexicographers have considered this to be radically the 'same as the Sanskrit *sikhi*. But this word has been adopted 'in the Tamil in the form of *siki*. Every Tamil scholar knows 'that *siki* and *tokai* are radically distinct. The term *kapi*, ren- 'dered ape, but more properly meaning monkey, is just as it 'stands in Tamil. This is found also in the Sanskrit. But 'we know that Sanskrit was introduced into Southern India 'before Solomon's time; and therefore the word may be 'regarded as transferred from the Tamil to the Hebrew, 'especially as it is found in such close mention with the pure 'Tamil word above named. The same may be said of the 'word rendered *ivory*, in the passage referred to, literally 'tooth *of elephants*. The part meaning elephant is found in 'Tamil as well as in Sanskrit. These considerations seem 'to indicate very clearly whence the Tarshishan fleet of 'Solomon brought those articles, and also, to determine the 'language of the people from whom they were obtained.

"There are other considerations which go to show that the 'Tamil was the language of the first settlers of Southern 'India. The earliest names of places, things, &c., of the 'south are pure Tamil, having no connection with the Sans- 'krit. These have been in many cases displaced by terms 'from the language of the dominant religion, *Brahmanism*. 'Such is the case with regard to Madura, Ramnad, Rama's 'bridge, Travancore, which were formerly called respectively '*Alavāy*, *Mukavai*, *Kallanai*, *Malaiyālam*. The same of Tinne- 'velly, a country where the *Shanars* abound, who are undoubt- 'edly a portion of the aboriginal race. Its name is in pure 'Tamil *Tirunelvēli*. The original term for Point Calimere is 'in Tamil *Kōdi Karai*.

"These remarks intimate, what it is believed will be found 'to be the fact, that *the Tamil belongs to the Shemitic family of 'languages*. If so, it presents a new and interesting variety; 'and one, it is thought, well deserving the attention of the 'philologist and ethnologist.

"The roots which are mostly verbal are generally *triliteral* 'and *dissyllabic*. A few words are composed of but two 'letters, and few have more than two syllables.

"Some Tamil words are so similar to Hebrew as at once to 'indicate their common origin. The following are given as

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examples of this similarity in vocables, being about one in every ten compared." Many more doubtless exist :—

Tamil.	Hebrew
Pāri, to produce.	בָּרָא to create.
Aru, to reap, pluck, &c.	אָרָה to reap, pluck.
Era, to ascend, increase.	ארם to be high.
Ari, lion.	אֲרִי lion.
Ari, light.	אוֹר light.
Aran, Lord.	אָדוֹן Lord.
Patti, house, gold.	בַּיִת house.
Ur, town.	עִיר-יר town.
Tanna, to make.	בָּנָה to build
Mayvu, death.	מָוֶת death *

" The Tamiliars use *athu*, *that*, as indicative of the Supreme ' Eternal God ; it is one of their most expressive appellations ' for the undeveloped or unorganized Deity. This suggests ' the remark of Lowth, that the Hebrew word הוּא He is ' often equivalent to the true Eternal God.† *Dieut. xxxi.* 8—32, ' 39. *Psalms cii.* 27."

There are others who think there is a greater similarity between the Tamil and Greek. Anderson, in the Preface to his Grammar, notices the following points of coincidence. (1.) " The Tamil alphabet like that of the Greek, consisted origi- ' nally of only sixteen letters. (2) As in the ancient Greek, so ' in Tamil, there is not any *spiritus asper*. (3.) In the rules of ' *Sandhi*, especially after short dissyllables ending in *u*, and after ' final vowels, the letter *y* or *v* must be inserted before a vowel, ' which illustrates in a remarkable manner, that part of the ' operation of the digamma in ancient Greek, which seemed to ' obviate the hiatus produced by the collision of vowels. (4.) ' In Tamil the letters *p* and *v* are interchangeable."

Mr. Anderson's remarks tempt us to add a few Greek words, which in sound and sense bear a remarkable resemblance with Tamil :—

αἴρω	to raise	Tamil *era*.
ἀρετη	virtue	,, *aram*.
γαλα	milk	,, *pâl*.
ἐγγυς	near	,, *inge*, here.
εγειρειν	to awaken	,, *eguru*, raise.

* Adam Clarke's theory that the Hebrew *nākash* (the serpent that deceived Eve) was a monkey, would be borne out in Tamil ; for *nāga* signifies monkey as well as serpent.

† तत् that तत्वमसि the sole reality. See Vēdanta Sara, by Dr. Ballantyne, p. 60, 61. Greek *το*, *τα*. Latin *iste*, *ista*, *istud*.

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ενδυω	to put on	,,	*udu*, (from which *udál*, the body.
ειπειν	to speak	,,	*iyamba.*
θηλυς	a female	,,	*thaiyal*, wife, woman.
ιδου	behold	,,	*ithó.*
καινος	new	,,	*kanni*, virgin.
κρεας	flesh	,,	*kari.*
κυνεω	to adore	,,	*kani*, to bow.
παιων	a song	,,	*pá*, song.
παις	child	,,	*paya*, boy.
παλαιοε	old	,,	*palya.*
παρρησια	openly	,,	*parásam.*
πειθειν	to persuade	,,	*paithu.*
ποιειν	to make	,,	*pannu.*
πολις	city	,,	*pálayam*, encampment, suburb.
πολυς	much	,,	*pala.*
πολλοι	many	,,	*pnlcr.*
ποτε	a long time	,,	*pothu*, time, when.
ταως	peacock	,,	*thogai.*
πυρ	fire	,,	*pori*, spark.
ψηρ	it is necessary	,,	*akkarai.*
σειω	to shake	,,	*asai*

Many words in all languages agree in sound and signification, thereby evidently indicating a common origin. We might even draw analogies between English and Tamil. Mr. Stokes, in an excellent translation of a Tamil work has noted the following :—

Cash.	*kāsu.*
Kill,	*kol.*
Boy,	*paya.*
Penny,	*panam.*
Put,	*pōdu*
Want,	*vendu.*
Hen,	*pen.*
Go,	*pō.*
Hole,	*pallam*
Behind,	*pin.*
Sack,	*sāku.*

On this portion of our subject we have perhaps occupied too much of our space. We regret indeed we have not had the benefit of the papers that have recently appeared on this subject in the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society; and we therefore refrain from offering any decided opinion of our own : at present we feel our inability for the task of theorizing. But we must allow the learned Editor of Dr. Rottler's Dictionary to give us the benefit of his researches. In his elaborate Preface to the fourth part of the Tamil Dictionary he states his views of the language. He is decidedly on the side of Ellis in thinking the " Sanskrit to be not of the same genus or stem" as the Tamil. " It is possible to write," he says, " a simple sentence in pure native Tamil; and then

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'to express the same meaning in words almost wholly of 'Sanskrit derivation: the difference, in the two cases, being 'something like the difference, in the English style of Swift 'and Johnson. He hazards an opinion, (derived, in a very 'great degree, from wading through the polyglot Mackenzie 'collection of MSS.) that there was originally one simple, 'homogeneous, dialect spoken by the rude aborigines, from 'Himalaya to Cape Comorin. The earliest probable refine-'ment was in the Pali of the north, and the Tamil of the 'extreme south. That the old Tamil could have done with-'out much of the gilding, which it has received (from Sans-'krit) is certain. The result however of a process, not very 'dissimilar to that which the early Saxon has undergone, is to 'render the Tamil language (like our native English) one of 'the most copious, refined, and polished, languages spoken 'by man."

We now come to the second, and, perhaps, more interesting part of our subject, *the Tamil Literature*. Native authors have divided their literature into two great divisions, viz., *Ilakkanam*,* the art of writing elegantly or grammatically; and *Ilakkiam*,† elegantly written works or classics. The first comprises all works on Grammar, including Logic, Prosody, and Rhetoric, and also the *Nigandus* or Dictionaries. The second includes all approved poetical compositions, original and translated. *Ilakkiam* is composition constructed on the principles of the *Ilakkanam*.

Ilakkanam, or *Belles Lettres*, as Beschi calls it, is treated under five heads. 1. *Letters*. This constitutes that part of Grammar which treats of the number, name, order, origin, form, quantity, initials, finals, medials, substitutes, and combinations, of letters. In one word it is Orthography. 2. *Words*. This part treats of the four parts of speech, viz., the noun, the verb, the particles, and the adjectives. This includes Etymology and Syntax. 3. *Matter*; or the mode in which, by writing words, a discourse is formed. This treats of amplification, the passions and affections of the mind, which act internally on man, and things of the external world. 4. *Versification*, or the laws of Prosody. 5. *Embellishment*, or Rhetoric. Under all these heads the Tamil is very full and complete.

Agastiar is said to have written the Institutes of Tamil Grammar. His work, with the exception of a few *Sutras*, which have been recently printed, is supposed to be lost. The work of one of his immediate disciples, named *Tholkapianar*

* लक्षणं † लक्ष्यं

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(ancient author), bearing his name, exists. The scholar has evidently not followed the simplicity of the master. *Pavananti*, a learned Jain, has the honour of producing the *Nannul*, which has superseded all other grammatical treatises, and is deservedly held in the highest estimation. This work has had many commentators. Pavananti only wrote on *letters and words*. Mr. Stokes has justly remarked of this work, that it "stands conspicuous among the grammatical treatises of all nations, for logical arrangement and comprehensive brevity." The term *Nannul*, literally *good thread*, corresponds exactly to the French *Belles Lettres* and the Latin *Litteræ Humaniores*. We have seen the *Laghu Kaumudi*, and the excellent translation of it by Dr. Ballantyne, of the Benares College, and we have tried to read some of the *Sutras* of *Pánini* incorporated in that work; but we must reiterate of them the remark of Sir William Jones, that they are "*dark as the darkest oracle.*" The *Sutras* of Pavananti, however, are concise yet comprehensive: they are simple, plain, and obvious. A part of this work has been translated and published at Madras, by W. Joyes, a Young East Indian, and Samuel Pillay, a native Christian; and the work, as far as it goes, shows much labour and carefulness, and does the translators great credit. We have a manuscript translation of the whole work, a copy of which we placed in the hand of a learned German, who is now in his native land publishing Tamil books. Of the author Pavananti, nothing more is known than that he was the son of *Sanmathi* of *Sanagápuram*. From his invocation to *Arga Deva*, we learn that he was a Jain or a Buddhist, who lived in the Pandya kingdom, in the palmy days of Tamil literature. We have no way of ascertaining the period when he lived. In his Preface he says that he wrote under the patronage of one *Gangan*. He acknowledges that he *follows the path hewn out by ancient authors*. He considers Tamil as one of the eighteen languages. There is certainly *multum in parvo* in the 462 Sutras he has written.

Pavananti's Preface is a learned dissertation, replete with instruction, well worth the attention of any student. It contains what would be called the philosophy of education. In his general Preface, for he writes two, a general and a particular, he treats on the five following subjects: 1. The nature of a classical work. 2. The character and qualifications of a teacher. 3. The method of teaching. 4. The character and qualifications of the scholar, and, 5. The conduct of scholars during the time of instruction. He writes largely on the first subject. Some of his remarks, to the fastidious ears of a European, would be irrelevant. He deals, in what would be consi-

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dered, far-fetched illustrations. All works, he says, are of three kinds: *Primary*, *Supplemental*, and *Deducive*. The *Primary* work originates from the Deity, who is of perfect and infinite understanding: thereby attributing language and letters to a divine origin. *There is no wisdom without Revelation*. *Supplemental*, and *Deducive* works are human, but must be in accordance with the divine. Original communications should be quoted in all their purity and integrity. He enumerates seven principles or characteristics of authorship, viz., consent, dissent, neutrality, originality, selection, criticism, and dogmatism. He specifies ten defects and ten beauties of language. The defects are: brevity, redundancy, tautology, contradiction, vulgarisms, ambiguity, weakness, irrelevancy, inappropriate transitions, and unintelligibleness. The ten beauties are: conciseness, clearness or comprehensiveness, agreeableness, use of appropriate words, harmony, profundity, method, respect for standard authorities, choice of proper subjects, and illustrations. He enumerates thirty-two canons of criticism, some of them, we confess, we cannot understand. "True criticism," he says, "consists in (1) showing the consistency of the subject of a work with generally received opinions, as well as with those of approved authors, and (2) in a nicety of judgment by the exercise of which fit places are awarded to appropriate topics." His definition of a Sutra is good: "a Sutram contains as much matter in as few words as possible, and still the force and minuteness of the same is so unaffected thereby, that they appear as clear as the reflexion of an object in a mirror." In his estimation a commentary should contain fourteen particulars, viz., the text, its purport, its several bearings, definition, divisions, examples, objections, answers, explanatory notes, analysis, paraphrase, dogma, advantage, and proof.

His estimate of the character and qualifications of a teacher is by no means low. He should be respectable both in his connexions and in the amount of his knowledge. He should have experience, and possess a facility in communicating knowledge. Like the sea-girt earth he should be encompassed with the circle of the sciences, be patient and immoveable as a mountain, just and equitable as a balance, and his reputation should be as fragrant as the rose. In teaching, a suitable time and place should be selected, and then, on an elevated seat, *the teacher is to invoke the Divine Being for a blessing on his work*. This is wholesome advice, emanating from a heathen; and worth the attention of the school-masters of a Christian government in a heathen land! Having well digested

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the subject of his lectures, he should in a gentle and agreeable manner communicate instruction, considering well the capacities of his scholars, and the objects of their pursuits. The best attention of the teacher is to be bestowed on his own sons, the sons of his own preceptor, the sons of his sovereign, *those who pay well*, those who are promising, and those who are likely to prove eminent in the public service.

He classifies scholars under three orders. The first is compared to a swan and cow, indicative of *discrimination and reflection*. The second is compared to parrots who learn and prattle, but understand not. The third is compared to a vessel full of holes that lets the instructions received by one ear escape by the other. No instruction is to be imparted to drunkards, slothful, self-opinionated, lascivious, thievish sickly, and stupid fellows.* Together with thirst for knowledge and a maintenance of good character; the duties of a scholar are punctual attendance, strict obedience, and conformity to rules.

The mode of improvement is said to consist in extensive reading, revision and digest of studies, and in the acquaintance and conversation of the learned. The first, even careful attention to a subject is insufficient. A second revisal is necessary. The subject is mastered only in the third review: one-fourth of perfection is attained by self exertion; another fourth is obtained by communication with the learned; the remaining half is secured, and the summit of perfection reached, by teaching others.

In the *Particular Preface*, Pavananti treats on various subjects regarding authorship, and the art of book-making. We shall simply touch on a few of them. A work is to be named from the nature of its contents, the name of the author, the character of the metre or style in which it is written, or according to the author's option or fancy. There are four ways in which a book may be produced: by abridgement, by enlargement, by a union of both, and by translation. A preface should not be written by the author himself; at least that part of the preface which must be necessarily egotistic; but by the author's tutor, or a fellow student, or a pupil, or by a fit commentator or editor. There are circumstances, however, when a man may praise himself. They are, when appeal is made to a superior for support; when

* Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a school master is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be."—*Arnold.*

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it is necessary to make known one's own worth; and when railed at for ignorance by opponents.

Notwithstanding the existence of so excellent a Grammar, the Tamilians did not cultivate the science of philology. There is no attempt at tracing the meaning of roots, and there is very little on the connexion of their own language with Sanskrit, or any of the other vernaculars. They confined themselves to the study of their own language, and endeavoured to enrich it with words and idioms of Sanskrit. We think the same remark applicable to all the Indian languages, even the Sanskrit. The brahman was too proud to trace connexion between *the language of the Gods* and the spoken tongues. They may have canons of criticism; but the remark is true that "in the west the free spirit of criticism was developed; in the east never."

Ziegenbalg the first Protestant Missionary in India, was the first who wrote a grammar of Tamil in Latin. His *Grammatica Tamulica* was printed at Hallé in Germany in 1716. Of all European writers in Tamil the first rank must be awarded to Constantius Joseph Beschi, whose grammars of the low and high dialect are held in great estimation. His grammar of the colloquial dialect was written in Latin, and dated *Mission of Madura, 29th January*, 1728; and printed at Tranquebar in 1739. A second edition was printed at the College Press of the Madras Government in 1813: an edition of the same book was recently issued from the Jesuit Press at Pondicherry. An English translation of this work was first made by the Rev. C. H. Horst, in 1807, and printed by the Christian Knowledge Society's Press at Madras in 1831. An improved edition, or as the editor would have it, a new translation, by the Rev. G. W. Mahon, was printed in 1848. The book was originally written for the use of Jesuit Missionaries. It has proved an invaluable aid to many who have studied the language, and especially to Protestant Missionaries. From the author's preface, we extract the following passage:—

—"Nor, have I meditated writing this new grammar of the 'Tamil language, under the presumption that I know more 'than others. But a certain personage, both connected with 'me by old acquaintance, and conspicuous to all by his singu-'lar worth, so urged this work by his requests, that observant 'whether of my love or my respect, I thought I could no lon-'ger refuse what was solicited with so much anxious earnest-'ness by such a man, especially since the mere desires of men 'of this note, although they come in the guise of entreaty, are,

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'in fact, commands, which it is unlawful for an ingenuous mind 'to pass by." He concludes thus: "Nor will I detain you 'longer, most religious fathers, who performing this embassy 'for Christ, soon to become preachers of the Gentiles, have by 'his counsel become converted to the simplicity of children; 'and with admirable zeal, though wont elsewhere to instruct 'others in the sublimest matters, have here begun to lisp the 'barbarous sounds, which, you have modestly not disdained to 'learn from others. To this your apostolic desire, this little 'work of mine, wishes to afford its service. If you are of 'opinion that you have received any assistance from it, pray 'ye the common Lord of the harvest, that I also, following 'your example, may not sit down in slothful idleness in His 'vineyard—Farewell."

To this useful book, he soon afterwards added his grammar of the high dialect, written in 1730. This will always be considered a standard work. The two grammars put together complete the subject, and contain all that a student needs to know concerning the language. Though others have written grammars since, in our estimation, Beschi stands unrivalled. His second grammar was translated into English by the accomplished Babington of the Madras Civil Service. Beschi has also written a grammar for the use of the natives, on the native plan in *Sutras*, containing all the five parts of *Ilakkanam* or grammar, and called it *Thonnul* (the old or ancient work) in opposition to *Nannul*, the popular Tamil Grammar.

Beschi's knowledge of the Tamil language and literature was very extensive. He was a master of the language; knew more of it perhaps than any native of modern times. His writings in prose and poetry, original and translated, are voluminous. It is natural to wish to know something of the history and private life of such a man. We have a full published life of him in Tamil. He was called by the natives *Viramámuni*, i. e., the *Heroic Devotee*. He was born in Italy; he was educated for the Church at Rome; and joined the order of Jesuits. Having distinguished himself as a man of superior natural and acquired attainments, he was appointed by the Pope to the East India Mission, and arrived at Goa, according to one account in 1700, and to another 1707. Fired with ambition to follow in the track of Francis Xavier, and with zeal to propagate his faith, he was diligent in the study of the language. He studied even Persian, with the Jesuit policy of fitting himself for the service of the state, and for the promotion of the views of his religious order. As Schwartz, so Beschi, became connected with the state, and was employed by a native prince under

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Chanda Sahib, the Nabob of Trichinopoly; he acted as *Dewan* or Minister, in 1736.

He was sent to the Madura Mission; where, a century before, Robert de Nobili, nephew to the famous Cardinal Bellarmine, established himself as a brahman from the West. This de Nobili was called by the natives *Tatwa Póthagar* (Teacher of Truth,) and wrote a treatise in Tamil on the nature of the soul, showing the identity and individuality of the human spirit. He also composed a book on christian doctrines; and is said to have forged certain writings in Sanskrit. Beschi succeeded in a place where such a man laboured; and acting under the orders and approbation of his provincial, the Archbishop of Cranganore, he followed in the footsteps of his order, who then acted in direct opposition to the express injunctions of their master, the Pope. Beschi conformed in his dress, food, &c., to the customs of the people; and assumed the pomp and pageantry of a Hindu guru. He fell in with their prejudices, went about dressed in purple flowing garments, a white turband, and yellow slippers. In his hand he carried a silver-mounted cane. In his ears and fingers he wore rings set with precious stones. He travelled on a white horse or in a stately palanquin; a man held a purple silk umbrella over him, another fanned him with peacock feathers. He was seated on a tiger skin; and a retinue followed. When he was the dewan of Chanda Sahib, he was called *Ismathi Sanyáse*, and got for his maintenance four villages yielding an annual revenue of 1,200 Rupees.

He is said to have been a great linguist. The most celebrated of his works are the *Thonnul* or *Grammatical Institutes*;—the *Thembávani* (*the Unfading Garland*), an epic setting forth the History of the Bible, and specially the Life of our Lord;—and the *Chaturakaráthi*, a Dictionary of the high dialect. In his great poem which no native would think was written by a European, he follows the plan of the Hindu Epics, and fills it up with much that is fabulous. It was printed for the first time at Pondicherry, in 1850, in three volumes. His *Chaturakaráthi* is a Dictionary. in four parts, viz., 1. Containing all words in general and classical use. 2. Synonyms. 3. Various words which are included undef the generic or technical terms of the language, and 4. Rhythmical words to aid poetical composition. His Dictionary in Latin, French, and Tamil has been published at Pondicherry. He also wrote a *Clavis Humaniorum Tamulica Idiomatis*, but we have not seen it.

In 1740, when the Mahratta army under Nádar Sing beseiged Trichinopoly, and took Chanda Sahib captive, an end was

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put to the political power of the Jesuit. He retired to Manapár, thirty miles south west of Trichinopoly, and there, in the service of his church, he died in 1742.

His translator, Mr. Babington, says regarding him: "It remains a subject of regret, that talents so rare should have been devoted to the promotion of a religion scarcely less replete with error than that which it supplanted: but we may draw this practical conclusion from Beschi's success, that a thorough acquaintance with Hindu learning and a ready compliance in matters of indifference, with Hindu customs, are powerful human means, to which the Jesuits owed much of their success, and which should not, as it is too much the case, be despised by those who undertake the task of conversion in a better cause."

The *Rudiments of the Tamil Grammar*, by Robert Anderson, of the Madras Civil Service, was published in London, in 1821. The author was compelled, in 1819, by a declining state of health, to relinquish his Civil appointment in India, and was appointed Assistant Oriental Professor at Haileybury. His grammar was composed for the benefit of English students. He has made Beschi's two grammars the basis of his own; following the scheme of Wanostrocht's French grammar, he points out analogies; and it is altogether a well-digested, neatly got up book.

He was followed by Rhenius, missionary in the service of the Church Missionary Society, in Tinnevelly. "Finding," he says, "the grammatical works previously published, defective in various respects, especially in regard to Syntax," he wrote his grammar; the first edition of which was printed in 1836. On Orthography and Etymology he follows the order of native grammars. He is pretty full on Syntax; but has made one great mistake, and that is, he has coined his examples instead of giving them from native books. He professes to give us *pure Tamil*; but pure Tamil of his own concoction. With the helps he had, and with his clearness of head, and general scholarship, he might have written a better grammar than he has done. But his work has thrown the others into the shade, and has greatly helped the student. His experience regarding the best method of learning the language is worthy of attention. "It will be asked, he says, how shall we acquire the proper Tamil idiom? I answer, that it can only be acquired by the assistance of a learned native, who knows the native grammars well, has had no practice in English and foreign compositions, possesses a clear and logically thinking intellect, and is no flatterer. With persons of this character

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'I was early brought into connexion; and to this providential 'circumstance must be attributed whatever degree of critical 'knowledge I have obtained." Rhenius' Tamil compositions are clear and idiomatic; but he wanted the poetical turn of mind, which characterises Beschi and even Fabricius. Besides the revision of the New Testament, he has written a Body of Divinity, a book on the Evidences, and many useful tracts.

The first English and Tamil Dictionary, by Fabricius and Breithaupt, missionaries at Madras, was published in 1779. We do not think Fabricius and Breithaupt had any means of consulting Beschi's Dictionary in manuscript. Their work appears to be an independent compilation; and was written chiefly by Fabricius, when he was in jail, for debt contracted by standing security for other people. The Dictionary enabled him to discharge his liabities!

The American missionaries at Jaffna have put forth a very useful English and Tamil Dictionary, which is now extensively used. Rottler's great Dictionary was the work of his long life. It is in four parts; but he died before the second part was printed. The first part was printed in 1834. The work then devolved on Mr. Taylor, the editor, who has carried the whole through the press. The plan of the work is said to be philosophical, referring all words to the simplest roots or primitive forms. But the plan has its disadvantages. It occupies too much space, and makes the book very large and expensive. A Dictionary on an improved plan is now in the Madras American Mission Press; but we do not think it will supersede Rottler.

We now enter upon the province of *Ilakkiam* or Tamil classical works; and as Poetry always pleases, we trust this part of our subject will not be uninteresting. In various periods of the world men have arisen to astonish and delight it. In times when the minds of men were not distracted by the attempt to attain a variety of knowledge, a single faculty, and one capable of great improvement by exercise, might easily be supposed to attain to a great degree of excellence. Every nation has its poets. Poetry has always its birth in the infancy of the social state, and is the means of transmitting events to a higher antiquity than Prose. Thence we have the *Iliad of Homer*, the *Ramayana of Válmiki*, and the *Chintámani* of some unknown writer in Tamil. The Hindus appear to have cultivated both the *Contemplative and Plastic Kinds of Poetry*. The great popular Tamil Epic is the *Ramayana of Kamban*, and the great moral book in Tamil is the *Kural of Tiruvalluvar*.

We have both the great Hindu Epics in Tamil, and all the

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great *Puranas*, so that we are well stocked with mythology. *Kamban*, the writer of the *Tamil Ramayana*, deserves special notice as being a genuine poet. It has been well remarked that no translation of an ancient Poem in rhyme can be faithful, and that no translation of Poetry, unless it be in rhyme, will ever be read. These remarks apply to the *Tamil Ramayana*. Kamban does not strictly translate, but gives his own version of the story, not differing materially from the original. We have read both, and at times we were at a loss to know to which of the poets the palm of victory was to be assigned. Kamban's *Tamil Ramayana* may be compared to *Pope's Iliad*. Valmiki is diffuse and simple; Kamban abridges but elaborates. There is a profusion of ornament at times; here and there abounding in beautiful touches of expression. We believe it will generally be found that a copy deviates from its original, not in becoming more simple, but in the addition of graces, the necessity of which was not felt by those, to whom the first impression belongs.

With the failing common to all Hindu poets, Kamban devoted one verse in every hundred he composed, to the praise of his patron and benefactor; on which account, when the poem was submitted to the Madura College for sanction, some of the Professors objected to it on the score of having human praise mixed up with divine. The Brahmans were jealous of the rival poem; but on proper representation by Kamban, of the necessity of his offering some tribute to the memory of his benefactor, the collegians allowed him to retain one verse to every thousand he composed in praise of his benefactor. The poet overjoyed at this concession, rose up in the midst of the learned assembly, and said, "*I considered my benefactor as one in a hundred, but this illustrious assembly have considered him one in a thousand!*" It is reported of the poet, that after he finished his *Ramayana*, he entirely lost his poetic inspiration, and was known to listen with intense admiration to his own poems when recited, without knowing that he was the author.

Beschi, in an Appendix to his high Tamil grammar, has given us his thoughts on the art of Tamil poetry. The Tamil poets, he remarks, use the genuine language of poetry. They rarely mention any object to which they do not couple some ornamental epithet. When they speak of a tree, they describe it either as green, or loaded with flowers, or shady, or majestically large, or as having all these qualities. They never mention a mountain, without representing it as rising among woods, or watered by fountains, or decked with flowers. Sometimes they employ this embellishment to excess. They are full of

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metaphor and allegory. They are at times extravagantly hyperbolical. In the Tamil *Naishadam*, it is said of *Damayanti*, the consort of the hero, that when Brahma had created her, her beautiful form had only one rival in the universe, and that was the fair moon. But Brahma, determined that every beauty should centre in *Damayanti*, took a handful of beauty from off the face of the moon, and threw it into that of *Damayanti's*. The deformity thus made, is still apparent, in the moon. The Tamil poets delight in similes as all eastern poets do. They indulge in fiction, and pay little regard to nature. Their Parnassus is *Pudiyamalac*, near Cape Comorin. They have neither Apollo nor Mercury. Their Minerva is Saraswati. They invocate Ganapati. Pathos and sweetness rather than vigour, are the characteristics of Indian poetry. They are not "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," so much as thoughts that please and words that charm. Milk and honey flow, but such milk and honey, as to prove an unwholesome diet to some minds.

The Tamil language is rich in ethical writings. When Professor Wilson was lately asked to name some Sanskrit work that might be read with advantage by the European student, he could only refer to the *Hitopadesha*. But we have something better in Tamil. The productions of the elite of the Madura college were chiefly of an ethical nature. In the reign of Vamsa Sekhara, probably in the third century of the Christian era, was founded the Madura college, for the cultivation of the Tamil language and literature. His son Vamsa Churamani completed his father's design, and established the college on a proper footing. This was then most probably the most celebrated seat of learning in all Hindustan. If the court of Vikramáditya had its nine gems, the Madura college is reported to have had more than five times that number—of the forty-eight *Sangattar* or professors, *Narkírar*, *Pánar*, and *Kapilar*, were chief. In connexion with this subject, Professor Wilson, in his historical sketch of the kingdom of Pandya, remarks: —

"These (professors) received instructions in the Sutras or rules of the Dravira language, it is said, from the god Siva himself, who appeared amongst them as the forty-ninth professor, and enabled them to expound and propagate the primitive institutes of the language, which are invariably attributed in the Dekhan to the Muni Agastya. The cultivation of the Tamil language, is supposed by Mr. Ellis, to have preceded that of Sanskrit in the South; and this would be a circumstance in favor of the early existence of the *Sangattar*,

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'for it could not have been long after the Christian era, that the 'fables of Northern India were domesticated in the Peninsula. 'However, the opinion evidently is correct only within certain 'limits. The Sanskrit language, in prayers, hymns, and 'legends, must have accompanied the introduction of the Saiva 'faith anterior to the Christian era, and must have been culti- 'vated as far as it was connected with religion. Its profane 'literature, and even its Puranic mythology, may have subse- 'quently become objects of study; and they apparently super- 'seded the cultivation of the native tongue, till the eighth 'or ninth century after Christianity, when its revival was 'effected.

"The prominent figure which Agastya is thus made to as- 'sume in the literary history of the south of India, attaches 'an interest to his existence which, it is to be apprehended, will 'scarcely derive much satisfaction from the accounts of the 'sage which are recorded. In the first place, a high antiquity 'must be assigned to him on the authority of the *Ramayana*, 'the oldest work, after the *Vedas*, perhaps in the Sanskrit 'language. His migration to the South is there detailed; and, 'disregarding the fabulous motives assigned for his residence 'there, it seems not a forced conjecture to infer his being a 'chief agent in diffusing the worship of Siva in the Dekhan. 'Neither this remote date, nor his character as a foreigner, 'renders it likely that he was the first Tamil teacher; and if 'we are not allowed to suppose that this character originated 'in his legendary reputation, we must conclude that the author 'of the various works attributed to Agastya was a different 'individual, although of similar name. There are still many 'works current attributed to Agastya, besides his grammatical 'aphorisms. These consist of poems in praise of Siva, and a 'number of medical works. It is not very probable, however, 'that the appropriation is generally correct. At the first in- 'stitution of the Madura *Sangattar*, it would appear that some 'dispute arose immediately between the professors and the 'Saiva priests, connected, not impossibly, with that contention 'for pre-eminence of knowledge which has ever prevailed in 'the Tamil countries between the brahmans and inferior castes. 'The priests, however, proved the more powerful; and recon- 'ciliation took place between them and the literati of Madura. 'At least, we may thus interpret the legend of Narakira 'incurring the wrathful glance of Siva, and only escaping being 'burnt to ashes in the flames emanating from the eye in the 'forehead of the god, by plunging into the holy pool Pat- 'tamari, and there composing the *Andadi Panyam*, a poem in

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'honour of Siva. After this event, the parties continued upon 'good terms; and Siva presented to the professors a diamond 'bench of great critical sagacity, for it extended itself readily 'for the accommodation of such individuals as were worthy to 'be upon a level with the sages of the *Sangattar*, and reso-'lutely detruded all who pretended to sit upon it without pos-'sessing the requisite qualifications. In other words, the learned 'corporation of Madura resembled learned bodies in other 'countries, and maintained as strict a monopoly as they possi-'bly could of literary reputation."

A little before the reign of Kúna Pandyan, the Madura college was abolished; and the *Samanal*, or Jain religion was established.

"The abolition of the Sangattar, says Professor, Wilson, 'is narrated in the usual marvellous manner. A candidate 'for the honour of a seat on the bench of professors, ap-'peared in the person of Tiruvallavar, a Pariah priest of 'Marlápur, and the author of an ethical poem. The learned 'professors were highly indignant at his presumption, but, 'as he was patronised by the Raja, they were compelled to 'give his book at least the trial. For this purpose it was to 'find a place upon the marvellous bench, which the professors 'took care to occupy fully. To their astonishment, however, 'the bench extended itself to receive the work, and the book 'itself, commencing to expand, spread out so as to thrust all 'other occupants from the bench. The Raja and the people of 'Madura witnessed the scene, and enjoyed the humiliation of 'the sages; and the professors were so sensible of their dis-'grace, that, unable to survive it, they issued forth, and all 'drowned themselves in a neighbouring pool. In conse-'quence the establishment was abandoned."

"If we contemplate this event in a literary view alone, we 'need not be at a loss to understand it. The first professors 'were eminent in Tamil composition, for the cultivation of 'which the college appears to have been founded. The 'members, however, had subsequently, in all probability, 'directed their attention more to Sanskrit composition and 'had, at all events, neglected the cultivation of their lite-'rature. That the latter was the case, is evident from the 'remark of Avayar, that the old Tamil was preferable to the 'new; indicating that, even in the ninth century, the dialect 'had been so far neglected as to have become partially 'obsolete. With Tiruvalluvar, however, circumstances 'changed. The old system was subverted, and a new im-'pulse was given to the study of Tamil, which produced, in

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'the course of the ninth century, in the Pandya and Chola 'kingdoms, a number of the most classical writers in the 'Tamil tongue."

"The date at which the subversion of the college occurred, 'is another subject of enquiry, and if we trust to the tradition 'which connects it with Tiruvalluvar, we must identify it with 'the period of his existence. Other legends make him a 'brother of Avayar; but, as this family story is altogether 'fabulous, no stress need be laid upon the assertion. The MS. 'list of Tamil authors states his work to be 1,600 years old: 'and Mr. Kindersley, who has translated a prose version of 'part of it, mentions that the original is understood to have 'been written fourteen hundred years ago. He also notices 'the extreme difficulty of the style, from which a high anti-'quity may be inferred; and, from these considerations, we 'may conclude that the age of Tiruvalluvar may have been 'between the sixth and ninth centuries.

"As far as we can judge from the extracts of the *Kural*, which 'have been translated, we have some reason to suppose that 'their author was not a very orthodox member of the Hindu 'faith. He appears to have advocated moral duties and prac-'tical virtues above ceremonial observances and speculative 'devotion, and so far trespassed upon the strict law. By his 'allusion to the heaven of Indra, and to various parts of the 'regular pantheon, as well as the respect he inculcates to 'brahmans and ascetics, he does not appear to have been a 'seceder or a sectary. How far, therefore, he contributed to 'the introduction of the Jain or Buddha faith, into the Madura 'monarchy, may be doubted, although the diffusion of his 'doctrines was calculated to undermine the brahminical sys-'tem. At any rate, it is agreed that Kings of Madura had 'adopted sectarial principles, and that Kuna Pandyan was a 'follower of the samanal doctrines, intending by those the Jain 'faith; although the term will apply also to that of Buddha, 'with which there is equal reason to identify it."

To humble the pride and arrogance of the brahmans, a poor despised Pariah is raised up by providence to be the first of Tamil philosophers, and perhaps the chief of Hindu moralists. We are ignorant of his real name. He has had many Commentators, and not one of them has mentioned it. *Valluvar* is the appellation by which soothsayers and learned men of the Pariah tribe are distinguished. *Tiru-Valluvar* means the divine soothsayer. His work is superior to the *Institutes of Menu*, and is worthy of the divine Plato himself. It is called *Kural*, signifying short or condensed. It is divided into

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three parts, viz., virtue, wealth and pleasure. It contains 133 chapters of ten distichs each, resembling the Sanskrit sutras, the first line containing four feet, and the second line three. The verses are very terse and sententious, and the style perfectly pure. The learned Beschi translated the work into Latin. Dr. Caemmerer, of Tranquébar, it is said, published a translation of it in German. Some portions of it were translated into English by the "great Tamil scholar and admirer of Hinduism, the late learned and talented F. W. Ellis, Esq.," with critical notes and annotations. The Rev. W. H. Drew has published a useful edition, with a translation of sixty-three chapters, occasional notes, and an index verborum. It is the great class book in all Tamil schools. "The work itself," says Mr. Drew, "is held in the highest veneration by the 'Tamil people. The writer of it is deemed an incarnation of 'wisdom. It is called the first of works, from which, whether 'for thought or language, there is no appeal. The Commentary 'of Parimelazhagar, a brahman, is considered the best of the 'ten that has been written upon the *Kural*, and the first of 'Commentaries."

To give our readers an idea of the estimation in which the work was held by the literati of the Madura college, we shall here quote the sayings of some of them, and the decisions they pronounced on the work and its author. An aerial voice was heard to declare that he should be allowed to sit on the bench of the learned. Saraswati declared that the *Kural* was the fifth *Veda*. Siva pronounced it "*An Unfading Flower*." Kapilar said, "though the book was small, the meaning was 'extensive, even as in the drop of water on the top of a blade 'of grass might be seen reflected the image of a great tree." Paranar said, "the two feet stanzas of the poet measured the 'thoughts of all mankind, even as Vishnu, when incarnate as 'a dwarf, put one foot on earth, extending the other even to 'the heavens." Narkirar said, "the poet fully understanding 'the four subjects, virtue, property, pleasure, and paradise, 'was benevolently inclined to make others understand three 'of them as well as himself. The gratitude due to him is 'like that owed to the cloud that showers down fertilizing rain 'without requiring any thing in return." Mamulanar said; "this, as we thought stupid Pariah, is in reality no other than 'a god." Kaladanar remarked: "the book has the rare 'merit of harmonizing the suffrages of the six sects, who 'would all admit the system to be their own."—(*See Taylor's Manuscripts, vol.* I., *p.* 178.)

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The work, though like all human compositions, it has its blemishes, is yet worthy of the attention of scholars as a production of intrinsic excellence, both as regards matter and manner. It is difficult to know to what sect the poet belonged. We are inclined to believe that he was not an orthodox Hindu. His first stanza has the word *Bhagavan*, which is properly neither a Saiva nor a Vedantic term. It indicates a being possessing attributes; and points not to an abstract but a personal Deity. He is said to be "the eternal God: the creator 'of all;" "possessed of pure knowledge," "who is without 'likeness:" "a gracious being, even a sea of virtue." The second stanza is thus translated by Ellis :—

"What is the fruit that human knowledge gives,
If at the feet of Him who is pure knowledge,
Due reverence be not paid !"

The third couplet has been the bone of contention amongst the learned Commentators. We give Mr. Drew's translation of it, which is literal.

"They who are united to the glorious feet of him who pass-'es swiftly over the flower (of the mind), shall flourish long 'above all worlds."

The expression, *He who passes swiftly over the flower (of the mind)*; or as Ellis renders it, "whose grace gladdens with 'sudden thrill the fervent heart:" has been explained by Vaishnavas to refer to Brahma, who is fabled to have sprung from a lotus, which originally grew from the navel of Vishnu. The Jains who claim the author to belong to their sect, adduce this verse in support of their claim, alleging that their God, the twenty-fourth *Tirthaka*, called *Arugan*, (Sanskrit *Arhah*, meritorious) ascended up into heaven over a ladder of flowers. The great Saiva commentator paraphrases it thus; "He who 'passes suddenly over the lotus flower of the heart of those 'who think on him with affection, appearing to their minds' 'eyes in that form in which their several systems of religious 'belief tend their imagination to represent him."

We have known persons disposed to find fault with the following couplet :—

"To those who are united to the feet of Him who is without desire or aversion, evil shall never come."—*Drew.*

"To Him, whom no affection moves nor hate,
Those constant in obedience, from all ill
In this world and the next are free."—*Ellis.*

They say to represent the Divine Being as *one who is without desire or aversion*, is to deprive him of his moral character and make

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him an irrational being; forgetting, however, that the poet here simply alludes to what the Commentator beautifully points out, a being *who is not affected by any thing, nor averse from any thing*, i. e., *a Being who is without bias*, the All-pervading Spirit, the universal witness, who takes cognizance of all things, whether good or evil, but is affected by none. Even our own Chrysostom has a similar idea: θεου μαλιστα ιδιον το ανενδεες. "It is God's peculiar property to stand in need of nothing." The expression *united to the feet of Him*, in this couplet and in the former, indicates *worship*, *reverence*, and *obedience*. "Evil shall never come to him who worships the true God." Man is said to be liable to evil (or affliction) from three sources, viz., from himself, from others, and from God. It is from religion alone he can derive that knowledge which delivers him from the first, raises him above the second, and averts from him the third.

The following couplet is so beautiful and true, that we cannot withhold it from our readers:—

"The anxious mind, against corroding thought,
No refuge hath, save at the sacred feet
Of Him to whom no likeness is."—*Ellis.*

Not merely, says the commentator, that there is none like the Deity, but that there is no similitude by which He can be described, no figure of human speech by which His nature can be expressed.

Since all virtue, wealth, and enjoyments, by divine appointment, depend on rain, the poet has written one chapter in its praise. We quote here the first and fifth couplets:—

"As by abundant rain the world subsists,
Life's sole elixir (*ambrosia*) in this fluid know."

"It spreads destruction round; its genial aid
Again revives, restores all it destroys;
Such is the power of rain."—*Ellis.*

"Such is the power of rain." Drew renders it, "Rain does 'all this." Literally *all is rain*, "τα παντα το υδωρ."

In his chapter on the character of holy men, we have the following:—

"He who guides the five senses by the book of wisdom, will 'be a seed in the world of excellence."

In the following couplet the poet insinuates, that the virtuous man is the true brahman, the great man. We think it a good definition of the word *gentleman*.

"The virtuous are truly called *andanar*; (beautiful, gentle, 'a name given to brahmans) because in their conduct to all 'creatures they are clothed in kindness."

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In his chapter on *virtue*, there are some beautiful thoughts; for example:—

"That which in spotless purity preserves the mind, is real virtue; all besides is evanescent sound."

The paraphrase of this couplet by the Commentator is thus translated by Ellis:—"Every species of virtue is included 'under the two general heads of domestic virtue and religious 'virtue. It is here said, that by purity of mind eminence and 'worth are obtained, and, that devotion or charity, and all other 'acts performed by one whose mind is not pure, have only the 'empty sound, and not the essence of virtue. The two significations of this *Kural* are thus distinctly shown. When thus 'explained, the truth and falsehood shine forth, and the true 'measure of virtue, whence substantial profit is derived, becomes apparent, and if we reflect on this and act accordingly, 'the path leading to salvation will be seen. Although loss be 'sustained by the expenditure of vast wealth in the purchase of 'a false jewel, is it not yet a greater loss, after the wealth has 'been expended, the body emaciated, and the soul afflicted, that 'a few false virtues only, not current in heaven, should be 'collected. Avoiding this therefore, and endeavoring to preserve that which is really profitable to the soul, reflect seriously 'on the purport of this *Kural* (couplet)."

This true description of virtue is followed up by the following injunction and recommendation:—

"Refer not virtue to another day;
Be virtuous now, and at thy dying hour
It will be to you a deathless help."

"Pleasure from virtue springs; from all but this
No real pleasure e'er ensues, nor praise,"

His definition of virtue is simple, and if properly explained, is both intelligible and accurate:—

"Know that is virtue which each ought to do;
What each should shun is vice."

The Tamil word rendered by the English auxiliaries *ought* and *should* by Ellis, is rendered *meet* by Drew. It is derived from the root *hal*, *nature*, also, a *share or allotment*. Literally the first line may be rendered thus: *virtue is that which is natural or allotted for each to do*. This idea, divested of some peculiar opinions grounded on the assumption of transmigration and destiny, comes up to the golden rule of Christian morals: "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Tiruvalluvar's definition of virtue tallies with that of Dr. Chalmers, when he says, "nothing is virtuous but what is done under a sense of duty, or done simply and

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solely because it ought;" nor does it contradict the dictum of Butler, the prince of moral philosohers, when he says: "he hath the rule of right within, all that is wanting is, that he honestly attends to it." The doctrine that *conscience is adapted to measure virtue, as a watch is adapted to measure time*, though not developed, is apparent in the writings of the Tamil moralist. Our common proverb, *the face is the index of the mind*, is illustrated by the Tamil Poet thus :—

"As the mirror exhibits the objects which come in contact
' with it, so the face exhibits the workings of the mind."

In a chapter on *Equity* are the two following couplets :—

"To incline to neither side, but to rest impartial, as the even
' fixed scale, is the ornament of the wise."

"The true merchandize of merchants is to guard and do by the things of others as they do by their own."

In the chapter on *The Fear of Sin*, it is said that, "the enmity
' of sin will incessantly pursue and kill." "Destruction will
' dwell at the heels of those who commit evil, even as their
' shadow that leaves them not."

In the chapter on *Gratitude* we have the two following couplets :—

"Forget not the benevolence of the blameless. Forsake
' not the friendship of those who have been your staff in
' adversity."

"The wise will remember throughout their seven-fold
' births, the love of those who have wiped away the falling
' tear from their eye."

Tiruvalluvar was a believer in fate, and yet he says, "Al-
' though it be said that, through fate it cannot be attained;
' yet labour, (perseverance) with bodily exertion, will yield its
' reward." "They who labour on, without fear and without
' fainting, will see even fate (put) behind their backs."

In a chapter on *Benevolence* he says :—

"As this world is not for those who are without wealth, so
' that world is not for those who are without grace."

With one more passage we shall dismiss our quotations from the *Kural*.

In the chapter on *True Knowledge*, the poet says :—

"Heaven is nearer than earth to those men of purified minds who are freed from doubt." One that could truly say and feel this sentiment, was certainly "not far from the kingdom of God."

In connexion with Tiruvalluvar, we have a female moralist in the person of his supposed sister called *Auvayár*. Her real name also is unknown; the title by which she is called is ap-

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propriated to aged matrons. She sang as sweetly as Sappho; yet not of love, but of virtue. Beschi remarks that the "collection of moral sentences ascribed to her is worthy of Seneca himself. Her books are read in every village school, and her proverbial sayings are constantly quoted. Mr. Percival, in his *Land of the Vedas*, has given very good specimens of poetic translations from her writings, from the pen of the Rev. E. J. Robinson, of the Wesleyan Mission in North Ceylon. We are tempted to give a few examples of them :—

"If suffering worth to acts of kindness move,
Forbid the doubt your bounty will not prove
A source at last of profit and delight.
The water furnished to its early root,
Ere long in sweeter draughts, from loads of fruit,
The cocoa's head will gratefully requite.

"The stream propell'd to where the rice crop grows,
Refreshes likewise, as it thither flows,
The common grass that in its channel lies :
In every age, the genial rains that fall
To cheer the good, are thus enjoyed by all,
And virtue's revenue the world supplies.

"To instruments the great their glory owe ;
The lofty are supported by the low ;
Without assistance, rank and skill were vain.
We spurn too oft the object we should prize :
The rice denuded, unproductive dies ;
The husk we scorn preserves the living grain.

"'Tis not in blood that genuine kindred lies,
From birth connexions that true friendships rise ;
Congenial disease may mortal prove.
Some distant mountain must the med'cine yield,
By which alone our sickness may be healed ;
And strangers may desponding care remove.

"While conscious of his fatal power to harm,
The guilty cobra hides in just alarm,
The guileless water-snake at large appears,
And so deceivers shunning public view,
In secret their perfidious schemes renew,
While artless innocence no danger fears.

"Though loyal hosts the king's behest obey,
The grave philosopher bears ampler sway.
While homage meets the sage wherever known,
And every step extends his spotless fame,
The monarch's title is an empty name,
Beyond the narrow realms that prop his name."

Indian moralists divide their science into four parts, viz., *dharma, artha, kama and moksha*,—*i. e.*, virtue, riches, pleasure, and heaven. Tiruvalluvar treated of the three first only in his work. He omitted the attainment of heaven, because

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its nature could neither be conceived nor explained, wisely leaving it, as he ought, to a revelation from above. Aviyar, the sister of Tiruvalluvar, hearing that he had written 1,330 couplets, about three of the subjects, added the other, and compressed them all within the compass of one verse, which she is said to have repeated extempore.

> " To give is *virtue*. That which is acquired without sin is *riches*.
> The constant mutual affection whose tastes agree, is *pleasure*.
> To forsake these three in the contemplation of the Supreme
> Being is *heavenly happiness*."

When she heard the character of her sex reviled, she is said to have repeated a stanza, the purport of which is:—" All ' women would be good by nature, if the men did not spoil ' them: and most men would have a tolerable stock of sense, ' if the women did not make fools of them." There is an account of the life and writings of this " Tamil female philosopher," by the Rev. Dr. John, missionary at Tranquebar, in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Her *aphorisms*, or the " golden alphabet," as they are written in the order of the Tamil letters, making a very popular school book, in English and Tamil, have been published by the Rev. J. Sugden. We fear, however, we have not been doing our favourite authors justice, by representing their sayings in a foreign garb; for no translations can adequately represent the originals.

The *Naladiyár* is a book containing 400 verses or epigrams on Morals. It is the production of some of the literati of the Madura college; and is of equal authority with the *Kural*, though far inferior to it in sentiment and language. It derives its name from the nature of the four-feet stanza in which it is written. There is a legend about its having been preserved from a watery grave, given by Beschi and others, from which it is supposed to have derived its name; but we do not think it worth relating.

There is the *Nidincrivilakam* and a host of other smaller books on Morals; but we think we have said enough on this subject. We have a Tamil version of the *Naishadam*, but by no means equal to the Sanskrit original. The greatest original Tamil poem is the *Chintámani*, which is just being published at Madras. It is a moral epic of the highest merit. The Commentator styles the author the master of all the learned. His name is not mentioned. He was a Jain, of whom Beschi remarks, that " he may with justice be called the prince of Tamil poets." *Chintámani* is an appellation of *Sivagan*, the hero of the poem. Many beautiful passages from it are quoted in *Ellis's Kural*. Examples of rhetorical figures are generally

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given from it. From the specimen of the first part of the work, with a comment as learned as the text, which we have seen in print, we fear it will be tough reading.

There are very few original dramatic compositions in Tamil. But all the celebrated Sanskrit pieces are translated, even the *Prabódha Chandrodaya*, a Vedantic drama, which resembles *Bunyan's Holy War*. The Romanists have written a few religious dramas. There are Tamil treatises on arithmetic, logic, architecture and astronomy; but nothing of any importance. The language abounds in medical works, a list of which may be seen in *Dr. Ainslie's Materia Medica*, and is quoted in Dr. Ryle's book on Indian medicines. Agastiar is the Hippocrates of Hindustan, and is the great medical authority. An anonymous writer, quoted by Mr. Taylor, in his historical manuscripts, says of Agastiar: "According to his own declaration, it appears that he composed three millions of stanzas on the vanity of the world, and follies of the human race; one million on medicine; and two millions on alchemy; which latter was the principal theme of his study. Of his moral works, very few are in circulation, as the *Sanniyásis*, who appeared in the succeeding ages, tried their utmost to keep them as secret as possible; and whenever they had an opportunity, they did not hesitate to commit them to the flames. In one of his moral cantos, entitled *Mupathu*, (or thirty stanzas) not unlike the Wisdom of Solomon, he gives ample reasons in refutation of the notions which the people of the world entertain about *Siva*, *Vishnu*, and *Brahma*; proves that penance, bathing, and self-immolation, are unnecessary (as the means) to obtain a passage to *Kailása* (paradise), and at last instructs men to worship *Parabrahma* (the Supreme Being)." A Tract called *The Wisdom of Agastiar*, containing thirty stanzas, printed and circulated by the Madras Tract Society, is evidently the production of some Romanist, who has closely imitated the style of the original,—for it plainly treats of the mosaic records of the creation, the fall of man, the nature of sin, and the Sāviour in unmistakeable language;—and at the same time is mixed up with puerilities and mysticisms. Mr. Taylor quotes some of his original stanzas in the historical manuscripts; (*see Vol. I., p.* 171), and properly remarks of him that, "at this distance of
'time, we can only regret that Agastiar, who seems to have
'approximated towards the truth, should have lived so late,
'when the pure truth had become disguised, falsified, and for-
'saken, or else that he did not live later, when with a mind in
'some degree prepared, he might have caught the beams of
'truth fresh and pure from the original fountain."

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Besides the Vedantic works, such as the *Bhagavat Gita*, the *Váshistam*, the *Mahávákyam*, and the Upanishads, we have the *Saiva Agamas* translated into Tamil. The most popular religious book of the Vaishnavas is the *Tiruvaymozhy*, containing hymns of praise in honour of Vishnu, which are recited in temples by the Tamil brahmans instead of the Sanskrit Vedic hymns. They are said to be composed by the twelve *álwárs*, or disciples of Vishnu. They contain four thousand stanzas. The counterpart of this amongst the Saivas is the *Tiruvásagam*, consisting of hymns in praise of Siva, sung in his temple by Siva Pandárams. It was composed by *Manikavásagar*, the great champion of Saivaism, who, in the ninth century overcame the Jains. Both these popular works, according to their names, signify *the Holy Word*, or *Sacred Scriptures*.

We have also a set of writers called *Juánis* or *Siddhas*,—sophis, or wise men, who have left the breathings of their soul in Poetry. These Tamil sages were men of enquiring and earnest minds, who were above the popular notions and superstitions, searching after immortality and happiness. The most popular amongst them are Sivavakiar, Pattragiriar, Pattanathupillai, and Tháyumánár. One of the sages, after diving into the Vedas and Sastras, comes to the following conclusion :—

> " The systems all by ancient sages taught,
> The living light with truth declared not ;
> Their notions in conflicting theories fell,
> With demons' lied, they found their place in hell."

One of them, a royal sage, thus laments :—

> " The Shastras being burnt up ;
> The four Vedas shown to be false ;
> The mystery being discovered ;
> When shall bliss be obtained ?"

In these and similar passages, we see some glimpses of truth, and the seeking of the mind after something which the philosophy of the world cannot give, and which must come from a higher source ;—" for by no art whatever can the waters be made to rise higher than their fountain."

The belief of a future state, and the knowledge of moral obligation, make up the sum of natural theology or philosophy of the world. But how dark and uncertain are the conflicting statements of sages and moralists on these grand and momentous points ! On these subjects there is no resting point for the soul, but in that system which " brought light and immortality to light." The wisest of the Greeks confessed his ignorance, and

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deplored the want of a superior direction. "The world by wisdom 'knew not God." Mr. Percival remarks, that "the Indian 'literature in some of its moral features suffers nought from 'comparison with the best ethical writings ever brought to 'light." Admitting that some of the views of heathen moralists are just, there is one deficiency pervading the whole, that of *motive*, necessarily resulting from a state of uncertainty with regard to every thing regarding future. What are the results of heathen philosophy; an ideal or material Pantheism. Even the philosophers themselves, who "professed to know God, glorified him not as God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." He who would know truth must himself stand in the truth. It has been well remarked by a writer in America, that "It is from above that we survey what is below, and not the reverse. It is only by means of truth that we can comprehend error; whereas error understands not even itself. *Verum index sui et falsi.*" Mr. W. Taylor remarks of the Hindu sages, that they were "men superior to popular notions, yet yielding to them to avoid popular odium." To have a thorough knowledge of the first principles of morals, it is necessary to know the deep seated disease of humanity; and "to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord," it is necessary to know the doctrine of grace by an Incarnate Saviour, of whom it might be truly said in the language of one of the Hindu sages,

"Multiplying love, Thou didst come to save my precious soul,
Thou art infinite bliss—O King—O God!"

Mr. Drew, in his Preface justly remarks, "that it cannot be 'supposed necessary for the sake of Christianity to deny to such 'works whatever degree of merit they may possess. Chris-'tianity requires not the aid of falsehood, or of concealment, 'nor need we wish to blacken the systems and books of the 'country beyond what truth will warrant; for even in the best 'there is much and pernicious error. The *Kural* itself, esteemed 'the best book of morals written by a Hindu, is an illustration 'of this remark. The third part on Sensual Love could not 'be read with impunity by the purest mind."

Though the palmy days of Tamil literature are gone by with the Madura Pandyans, yet the works that remain are standing monuments by which we may estimate the capabilities of Hindu genius. Tamil learning is at present very little encouraged, and therefore neglected in our public schools. There are many native presses, however, at Madras, Ceylon, Pondicherry and other places, at work, from which are constantly issuing works,

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good, bad, and indifferent. Dr. Graul, who was lately out in this country in connexion with the Leipsic Mission, is printing Tamil works in Germany. A first Tamil book, by the Rev. G. W. Pope, on Arnold's plan, is now in the press; and will, we are sure, prove a valuable help to beginners. Tamil literature is much indebted to Christian missionaries. It was the first language studied by them. We have had the Tamil Bible complete for more than a hundred years: we have a Tranquebar, Madras, Colombo, and a Tentative version. The name of Fabricius, as the translator of the Bible, and the composer of Tamil hymns, will long be gratefully remembered by the Indian church. We are not without our Christian poets and authors amongst the natives themselves. Our Christian literature consisting of histories, commentaries, divinities, liturgies, sermons, is not to be despised; and these works are increasing very fast around us. We have books of science, periodicals, and newspapers. There are various Societies whose object is to furnish us with school books. All that we want is the encouragement of vernacular schools by Government, and their establishment and vigorous working in every town and principal village. We want, moreover, our missionary educational Institutions to give prominence and encouragement to the accurate and careful study of the principles and literature of the language.

We have now done our task. But let the greatest European scholar, the famous Beschi himself, use his persuasive reasons, to urge the student to enter into the inner temple of the language, and see how its builders have perfected its beauty. Addressing the Jesuits, he says:—

"That the study will be one of considerable difficulty, I do
'not pretend to deny; but the labour will not want its reward.
'Among the natives themselves, very few can now be found,
'who are masters of the higher dialect. He among them who
'is acquainted even with its rudiments, is regarded with res-
'pect; but should he quote their abstruse works, he is listened
'to with fixed admiration; what praise, then, would they not
'bestow on a foreigner, whom they should find deeply versed
'in a science which they themselves consider scarcely attain-
'able? They will readily attend to the teaching of one whose
'learning is the object of their admiration. And as this may
'evidently lead to the honor of religion, and promote the
'salvation of those about us, I am satisfied that this considera-
'tion alone, operating on zeal like yours, will suffice to excite
'you to the study of this dialect, notwithstanding the difficulties
'that attend it."

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"But since almost all the Tamil works in this dialect are 'in verse, I trust you will not deem it improper, if I venture 'to draw your attention to heathen poets, and to the study 'of poetry. In former times, *St. Jerome* was severely censured 'for having, by the introduction of examples from the poets, 'sullied the purity of the church with the pollutions of the 'heathen. *St. Jerome* in his learned reply, demonstrates, that 'the apostle *Paul* repeatedly cites from the poets, in his Epis-'tles, and that the most exemplary among the fathers not only 'made frequent use of illustrations from the writings of laymen, 'but that, even by their own poetry, they, far from polluting, 'embellished the church. These remarks apply with particular 'force in this country, the natives of which are swayed not 'so much by reason as by authority; and what have we from 'their own authors to adduce in aid of truth, except the verses 'of their poets? For, since all their writings are in verse, 'they have reduced to metre their rules of art, and even the 'rudiments of their language: whence, they naturally suppose, 'that he who does not understand their poetry, is totally igno-'rant. Moreover, there are excellent works in Tamil poetry, 'on the subject of the divine attributes and the nature of virtue; 'and if, by producing texts from them, we turn their own wea-'pons against themselves, they will blush not to conform to the 'precepts of teachers in whom they cannot glory without con-'demning themselves. If we duly consider what has been 'said, we shall be satisfied, that, in this country especially, it is 'highly proper in a minister of the gospel to read the poets, 'and to apply himself to the study of poetry."

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

"Ex Eremo." Poems chiefly written in India, by H. G. Keene. Edinburgh, 1855.

In the confessedly poetical works of any writer, there is something of far greater importance to be noticed by the critic or the reader, than that which is exclusively poetical in form or in idea. We have many instances in literature of truly noble souls, glowing with all the intensity of eager inspiration, and yet unable to express it in that objective dress which would at once heighten its truth and beauty, and attract others to admire it. We do not mean merely what may be defined as poetical inspiration, in which the imagination plays so large a part, as by combining, harmonising and adapting old concepts, it almost seems to create new intellectual existences, but what to the common eye seems to have in it no poetry, properly so called—such manifestations as earnestness, energy, strong will, fervent passion. In all of these the imagination more or less predominates, and yet they are never recognised as *in themselves* poetical. But, to a large extent, they really are so, although no recognised canons of criticism may be brought to prove it, and whether manifested in the life of an individual, the words of a speaker, or in the works of a writer, to the human instinct they do seem poetical. It may be that to a large extent feeling or emotion underlies them all, and that their manifestation in one excites a corresponding development of them in others—as the great law of sympathy comes into play. In intellect it may be imaginative, and in the higher regions of ontology and the exact sciences it undoubtedly is, but all feeling is poetical, not because of its imaginative ideality, but because of its reality and universality. The emotional consciousness of the race is ever more to be trusted for the truthfulness of its contents than the rational.

Hence it is that if, in the life of action or in literature, we meet with a man of sincere honest energy, combined with pure feeling and both coloured by the lights of a warm enthusiasm, we feel that he or his works are poetical. No matter if he has never written a rhythmical line, still there is that about him which the universal human instinct recognises as poetical. This may be but a low stage of development for the heaven-born faculty, but still it is the first.

Advancing from this we come to the man who has been taught by nature to lisp in numbers however rude. He not merely has a soul of poetic fire, but ready words rising to his lips to express it. He wants expression, he cares not of what sort, so as it is true, corresponding with his actual thoughts. The poet must ever be true, for his words are often as heaven-born as his thoughts, and the moment he ceases to be true to himself, and his age, and his God, he

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passes away, like Dryden and the poets of the Restoration, buried under a heap of artificial obscenity and falsehood. The rude and self-taught poets of nature are such, the Davids and Burns, who have been taken from following the plough or the herd to be the sweet-singers of their fatherland. Theirs is no fettering. They are free as the lark, whose praises they sing, and the dress in which they give forth their warm thoughts, is to them a matter of little importance. Such are the ballad-singers of a nation—such those whose words are in every maiden's mouth, and live upon a nation's lips. They are the true lyrists, and often the only teachers of their age, as they are generally the depositories of its intelligence and the chroniclers of its history. Yet great as they are and popular with the world, they must yield, in the light of an intelligent criticism, to a third class greater than even they. There are those who drag forth from their lyrical unconsciousness the richest gems, and cut and polish and illuminate them, so that to the eye of the connoisseur they seem priceless. The world may see in them but a useless brilliancy or an obscure beauty that they cannot understand, but the educated mind the nearer it is to heaven, the more studies, and loves, and communes with such. Their subjective poetical richness is well expressed in an objective form, and in such there is not merely the innate music of poetical thoughts, but the exquisite melody of a 'soft Lydian air' and the stirring march of a Doriam measure. The statue is a glorious one, and its fame is rendered all the more attractive and soul-exciting by the exquisite drapery that but half conceals it. Of such a class is Tennyson, whose '*Lotus Eaters*' and '*Lady of Shalot*' seem as it were Divine poetry set to the music of the spheres.

We have been led into these remarks by the volume before us. The reader rises up from its perusal with a feeling of pleasure in which there is a slight degree of pain, and it is only after analyzing some of the poems and searching into every part that he can discover the cause of the latter. It is precisely this—the writer has burning, eloquent, manly thoughts to express, and he does it now with such beauty and now with such clumsy raggedness that the want of harmony dispels the perfection of the pleasure that would otherwise be felt. It is not merely that one piece is inferior to another in its rhythm, but parts of the same short piece are unequal. There is much of the fire of Massey and Smith with only a little of the melody of the Laureate, before whom all modern poets must bow. This is a defect that will of course be corrected, as the author increases in poetical experience, but the fault is too glaring to be passed over in a book, when there are so many pieces of true power and beauty.

Of all Indian litterateurs whose works we have read, this one seems to have succeeded best. His oriental allusions are correct, and the stand-point of the volume is a manly and Christian one. The author is no rupee-hunter who seeks nought but self, while in the midst of millions whom the devil holds fast in his grip. He does not apply the selfish policy to India and paint it as a land of

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beauty and grandeur, because there a fortune may be made or a pension secured on easier terms than at home. No ! he rather writes against this, and the curse of gold selfishly pursued is the moral of one of the largest of the poems in the volume "*Michael De Mas, the Gold-finder.*" He had devoted his whole life to its acquisition, he had searched in India for it, he had fought, and toiled, and suffered for it, he had roamed over many lands in search of it—and then had reached California where a band of adventurers find him :

They parted ; in the evening, when they met,
Their leader wore a sad and solemn look,
And with few words he led them up the rocks,
Into a stern wild scene : far as they looked,
Cliff heaped on cliff, and stone on fragment stone,
The land's brown ribs extended ; here and there
Steep chasms it had, declining to the sea ;—
Some were the beds of streams, that evermore
Washed down the golden grain, and in a year
Paid to the treasury of the insatiate flood
More than the subjects of the richest kings
Yield to their despots in a century :
But some of them were dry and choked with stones
And logs of rotting timber, and deep sand :
Here, with the lumps of ore heaped high around,
They found a human skeleton; hard by,
A rusty cutlass, such as mariners use,
Whereon was rudely graven, and half-effaced,
The words, "Michael De Mas," and underneath,
"I die of want upon a bed of gold."

The healthiness of the book consists in this, that having taken away from view what is to most in India, the only aim of their life—gold, he yet shows, that there are other and nobler objects to rouse energy and to excite to "work while it is called to-day." The moral of the whole work may be put thus : "The man is a coward and a sinner who does not work energetically in India. But many are the incitements to energy. The majority of mankind and especially the specimens of them in this land labour, but for gold ; the apathetic Hindoo who passively reposes in the depths of his own subjectivity, is roused to energy only by the calls of a powerful affection or an enslaving superstition, as in the case of Suttee, and self-immolation at the shrine of Jaganath. But to us there are nobler incitements to energy. We must do duty for duty's sake first, for God's sake afterwards, and our own last of all. The truest energy is manifested in the 'Battle of Life' where we ever move onward and upward, with the devil behind and God above us.," Such is the song of Mr. Keene in India and a noble one it is, and we honour him for it. Such is the song that the Missionary sings in every action of his life, a song never before sung in India till Arnold give us his *Oakfield*. Such is the song that sounds far away amid the wide Savannahs of the West, where Longfellow sings his *Excelsior* and Psalm of Life, such the song whose notes re-echo in the crowded factions and jostling streets and public parts of Young England. The beauty of the description as well

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as the moral, will excuse us for inserting in full the *Tomb of the Suttee*:

THE TOMB OF THE SUTTEE.

Come forth, my fairest ! from your sheltered glade
Of thick-grown mangoes, where the white tents stand
Half hid, half seen beneath the chequered shade ;
Come with me while day lingers, hand in hand,
Among the meadows of the glimmering land,
A flood of fire surrounds the sun's decline,
The hills throw long grey shadows on the plain ;
Far off, the bells upon the necks of kine
Make silver jangling from the creaking wain,
And pass away, and all is still again.
Shouts to his fellows now the housing hind,
The startled partridge whirrs his homeward flight,
The rocks and trees grow less and less defined,
Fainter and fainter every sound and sight,
And scarce the highest points retain the light.
Here, where the latest beams of day are thrown,
Gaze on this ruined pile, and name its name—
A weed-grown doorway, and a heap of stone,
And here a minaret standing, still the same ;
And here the mortar dyed with hues of flame.
Bright as of old the broken painting glows,
As if the beautiful survived the strong—
The wild-fig splits the cupola, and throws
Against the sky its frantic arms so long,
In all the petulance of vulgar wrong.
This place, where ruin mars the work of love,
Was made a monument in years gone by,
Of one with more than manhood's might who strove
And conquered death by learning how to die,
And, silent, gave a ribald world the lie.
In such an hour as this, without a veil—
Sorrow's devotion is not earthly, proud—
Here came, with features beautifully pale,
A youthful widow, 'midst a jostling crowd
Of self-applauding saints and minstrels loud,
And loveless friends exulting in her part
As though it were their own. Oh ! who can say
What thoughts have struggled in her beating heart
Through the long hours of that lone, weary day—
What griefs, what hopes, what fears to pass away !
E'en now one shudder as she mounts the pile :
The struggle passes ; with a calm delight
She takes his head upon her breast—her smile
Is hid by flames that, odorous and bright,
Rise canopied with smoke.

We gaze to-night
Upon her tomb, I and my fair-haired wife ;
She—not unequal, should love bid her dare—
As home we turn, asks, " Does not duteous life
Make truer martyrdom, and sight more fair
For men and angels, than one blank hour of despair ?"

The same is dramatically illustrated in the piece entitled *Origin of Caste*. Our readers will see that Mr. Keene is successful not merely from his manly, honest, God-fearing energy, but from that simple domestic emotion that sheds a light of gentlest beauty over his pages. There is the proud strength of man and the calm trustful faith of

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woman, the energy that—Satan like —would scale the heavens, and the love that would nestle close to the beating heart and live for ever a life of faith. Indeed it is the combination of these two—manly energy and domestic affection, that lends such an interest to the book. The two following poems will illustrate both, while at the same time they have not a few inelegancies which a more matured experience will wipe out. We should like to see *Ex Eremo* in every Indian home, and its manly aims in every English breast.

CLIVE'S DREAM BEFORE THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY.

"The majority (of the council) pronounced against fighting, and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority ..... But scarcely had the meeting broken up than he was himself again. He retired alone under the shade of some trees, and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put everything to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readness for passing the river on the morrow."—MACAULAY.

Beneath the thick old mango-trees the trunks are growing black ;
The night-hawk screams a bolder note, and wheels a wider track ;
Far to the right, all ghastly white, thick tents are dimly seen ;
Barbaric music faintly wails, the river runs between ;
All blood-red on the western verge the skirts of twilight lie,
And two pale horns from the east go slowly up the sky.

Who walks at such an hour in the strange garb of the Frank,
And flings himself in gloomy guise on yonder grassy bank ;
And mutters oft—"'Twere madness, sure, with such a force as ours,
To bide the brunt while yet the Moor unbroken holds his powers,
In hope to gain Moorshedabad or Patna's distant towers ?"
Sore labours has that leader proved, but toil has worn him less
Than cares which weighed, and nigh dismayed, his soul with their distress.
For stronger is the chief to do, than steady to endure,
And till to-day the swift with him has ever been the sure.
But now is come a direr strait than e'er the little band
Have known since first their venturous feet have trod this foreign strand ;
The blood-stained rake, the tiger prince, that laid their city low,
And slew their best and bravest by a cold-blood coward's blow,—
He marches now with all his force, and boasts, in drunken glee,
To drive the pale-faced traders down before him to the sea ;
And well may those stout strangers rest content his speed to stay,
Or trust to wait till cools his hate, or his armies melt away.

Now sinks the din from either camp, and not a sound is heard
Except the roar of hungry beast, or scream of prowling bird ;
And Clive still lies extended ; but no more he mutters now,
For sleep has sealed his weary eyes, and soothed his aching brow.
'Tis strange and sad to see that MAN of action in repose ;
As sleeps the child, or mother mild, to outward sense he shows :
To sense he shows ; but who can say if all be peace within,
Or if the frame's mute trance allow full scope to wrath and sin ?
Ha ! mark you not that clenching hand, that wild convulsive start ;
And who but deems that angry dreams are surging at his heart ?
The body sleeps, the spirit wakes ; and in the unknown land
She visits then she does what he could never understand.
Her jailer dull, he chains her down ; but when his care grows slack,
Her flight she takes till he awakes, and quickly calls her back ;
But what would it avail to tell of where her feet have been ?
He could not understand her speech, or see what she has seen.
Sleep, warrior, sleep, the GOD of battles will have work for thee,
And well though thou canst toil at need, yet rested must thou be ;
For, violent and bad, thou art JEHOVAH'S servant still,

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And e'en to thee a dream may be the angel of His will.
What changing cloud, what wreathing shapes float through that slumberer's breast!
What voices of vague augury, rejoicing or distrest!
While underneath and over all the tissue is of gore.
The crimson coat, the meteor flag, the hue of England's war,
The tiger-prince flies fast away, the foe shout in his rear,
The echo falls on Delhi's walls, and rocky Jessulmere;
The wild Mahratta hosts are broke, the proud Rohilla yields;
High kings are bending on their thrones, and peasants in their fields.

See WELLESLEY learn his deathless flight, see beams of glory take
The comely head of COMBERMERE, the gallant crest of LAKE.
The bayonet-push, the sabre-charge, through every realm of Ind,
From far Nepal to Cabul's heights and parks of sunny Sindh;
The red flood creeps from east to west, as goes the mighty sun,
To where in disappointment turned the hosts of Macedon;
From Martaban, from Comorin, to where Hydaspes flows,
Or holy Himalaya hoards her immemorial snows.
Sunlike it creeps; a flood of light, blessings in its train;
The darkened land, the barren land, shall ne'er be so again.
O Western light! O light of blood! O hue of England's war!
He starts to life with a sudden bound, to speak of peace no more.
"Ho! call the chiefs; ho! bid the men to gather on the lawn,
Prepare the boats—in silence all—we cross before the dawn."
But those who heard the welcome word, still wondered that he said—
"Perplexed, I ween, my rest has been, but God is for the Red."

INDIAN DOMESTIC IDYLL.

As on her faithful Edward's breast Emilia's head reclined,
He gazed on her with tenderness, while fear came o'er his mind;
For he thought her perfect features showed a presage of decay;
And "Oh, the lady of my love," he said, "she fades away!
The sun of this wild land is bright, but deadly is his glare,
And poison loads the gales and rains of all the livelong year.
My labours, too, are fameless here—all joyless every feast—
My soul is sick for freedom from this weary, weary East.
O! for the breeze so pure though chill, the sun, though weak, so kind,
A crust of bread from day to day, with health of frame and mind,
And the voices of our children never absent from our hearth,
And gladness in the garden-plots, where bees and birds make mirth—
And in the end the old churchyard, with two green mounds of earth."
"Ah! not from you," the lady said, and her timid eyelash fell;
"Oh! not from you those false weak words my own heart knows so well;
We were not born for happiness in this stern world of toil,
Nor are we of the forest growth whose souls are in the soil;
Whatever land we start from, dear, the goal is still the same,
And he who steers for duty's light must never think of fame.
Our fates are but our motives, and (if this is any balm)
Think if an age of pleasure can be worth an hour of calm.
Of deep and settled peace, with which, before the day is done,
And the weary march is ended, we may watch the setting sun;—
So if duty be a burthen, 'twill be lighter borne by two,
And if you will struggle, on, love, I will struggle here with you."
He kissed her ample brow, as sweet peace came o'er his breast,
And let not any seek to know (I cannot tell) the rest—
If he lived to share with her he loved a few bright years at least,
Or one, or both, have left their bones to moulder in the East;
Or whether they enjoyed, or not, what worldly men call bliss,
'Twere vain to ask, and vain to tell, the moral is not this.

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The Institutes of Justinian, with the Novel as to Successions. Translated by William Grapel, Esq., M. A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, Professor of English Literature, and Junior Professor of Law in the Presidency College, Calcutta. Calcutta, 1855.

THE system of Government Education in India is beginning to bear fruit that, in a purely secular sense at least, may benefit native students and the land in which they dwell. Hitherto the men to whom it has been confided, have been able to go no further in the original production or adaptation of literary works, than editing with common-place notes, works that have received no acceptance in England for educational purposes, or in compiling collections of passages suited for class-books in junior and secondary schools. With a strange pertinacity they have introduced works far above the comprehension of the youthful students, into whose hands they are put, and works of such a character that Christianity was not only not tolerated like other religious systems, but directly and openly attacked. The result has been that 'godless' colleges have produced godless youths, and Young Bengal, having abandoned the old superstitions of Hinduism, has drifted away on the rude sea of shallow scepticism or apathetic pantheism, believing nothing and believing everything as it suited the gratification of its own avaricious and sensual desires.

We are glad that at last some of the teachers in Government Colleges have attempted something higher—that is, more scholarly and less dangerous than this. The fact of an English law-class in the Presidency College is a cheering one, whatever the attendance may be, in the desire in native youth, to avail themselves of its benefits. And the fact that the *Institutes of Justinian* have been translated specially for their use, while it makes us regret that no means are provided for their studying the original, makes us feel confident, that law will not be what its more graceful sister literature has hitherto been in Government Schools, but an isolated being often spoken of and appealed to, but never entering into the souls of her votaries nor throwing her mantle of knowledge and refinement over them, but will be a means of attaining accurate scholarship in at least one subject, and of disciplining the intellect, and elevating the character. We trust that the well-known antipathy of the native character to all that is accurate, and tedious, and substantial, will not prevent Mr. Grapel from carrying out his law course with all that accuracy and scholarliness, which the publication of such a work would lead us to expect. It matters little what disciplines the faculties, so that they are disciplined, and though law has not hitherto been looked upon as very well fitted for this purpose, yet we would look for mental fruits from its study, which have never yet in India, nor in the Government system of education, been gathered from literature or mathematics. * *

When we say that so far as we have examined the translation, it is well executed, we say but little for Mr. Grapel, for it requires

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neither a great lawyer nor a good Latinist to translate Justinian. His merit must rather be seen in the future, in the determination amid all the apathy and disgust, that his students may shew to exact and what may seem dry study, still to go on his own independent way, using the work that he has translated most thoroughly. To the utilitarian, it may seem absurd that a Professor of Law in India should go back to Justinian and Roman law, when what native students want, is that of the Hindus and Mussulmans. But what not a few native minds require, is not the mere jargon of indigenous and village law, which any Darogah, or six months' residence in the Mofussil can give, and which must ere long be swept off by the besom of Reform, but the principles of all law, human and divine, a knowledge of that great power, that conjoined with the sword made Rome the mistress of the world, the herald of order and peace, and the applier of Greek civilization to Teutonic barbarism. This the work before us can give, and there is but required a thorough knowledge of the Ethics of Law to be obtained from such men as Grotius and Puffendorf and Heineccius, to make the student able to study practically for himself. In law perhaps more than in any other study, a certain indefinable spirit requires to be caught, not merely that which will make a man enthusiastic over old tomes and musty deeds, but will give him the spirit of method, the clear intuitive power of discerning fallacies and irrelevancies, and make him, himself the incarnation of order.

To accomplish this no work is better fitted than these *Institutes*. They have neither the want of harmony and repulsiveness of the Code, with all its attractions for the student of Roman law, nor the fragmentary and controversial character of the Digest or Pandets. They are on the contrary methodical and scientific, each subject being found in the proper place, and the proper amount of importance given to each. They may be said to be to Roman law what the *Commentaries* of Blackstone are to English and may be read by the mere layman with no little interest and instruction. The great object of their publication was to lead beginners by gradual steps to a knowledge of the *Lex Romana*, and hence the book was written in a simple and Academic style—written too by men who were celebrated jurists and themselves Professors of Law—Trebonian, Theophilus and Dorotheus. How becoming it is that those studies that elevated the souls of the students of Constantinople and Berytus, in the 6th century, that renewed the constitution of society and gave to the middle ages of Europe a form and a unity that resulted in modern civilisation, and that sent forth from the schools of Padua and Leyden men who have laid the basis of modern ethics and politics; how fitting it is that these studies should now be introduced to the colleges of India in the 19th century! And if they result in nothing more than in rousing the souls of apathetic Bengallees to a sense of their mental degradation, in giving them accuracy of scholarship and a love for order, method and regularity, and in taking out of them all their tendency to a cursed litigiousness with its attendants, avarice,

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malice, perjury, and falsehood and ruin, then they will have indeed accomplished much. Roman law is most manly, it is that which made the Plebians what they were, that gave nerve to the deathless Gracchi, that established the Commonwealth. How much more ought it not to do for poor wretched Bengal, with its want of patriotism and manliness, when to its old pith are superadded the freedom of Christianity and the nerve which it imparts.

As a specimen taken at random from the work, we give the following translation with the original. As we have said it requires neither Latin nor Law to do this. We dislike to see so creditable a performance marred by such affectation as translating Novellae—Novels instead of Novells. How much better for Mr. Grapel's reputation as a literary man and one of common sense to amend such a sentence as this—"The *Novellæ Constitutiones*, were remedial measures, the acts "to amend an act," whereof even now-a-days, *collective wisdom wotteth something*.

Not only, however, are our legitimate natural children in our power, as we have said; but so also are those whom we adopt.

Section I.—Adoption takes place in two ways: either by Imperial Rescript, or by the authority of the Magistrate. The Imperial Rescript empowers us to adopt persons whether male or female, who are independent (*sui juris,*) and this species of adoption is called "arrogation." The authority of the Magistrate empowers us to adopt persons, whether male or female, who are actually under the power of parents—whether in the first degree, as sons and daughters; or in an inferior degree, as grand-children, and great-grand-children.

Section II.—But at present, by our Constitution, when the son of a family is, by his natural father, given in adoption to a stranger, the right of paternal authority in the natural father is no means dissolved, nor does any right pass to the adoptive father, nor is the adopted son in his power, although such son is by us allowed the right of succession to his adoptive father, should he die intestate. But if a natural father should give his son in adoption, not to a stranger, but to the son's maternal grand-father, or if the natural father have been himself emancipated, and give the son in adoption to the son's paternal or natural grand-father, or great grand-father, in this case, as the natural and adoptive rights concur in the same person, the power of the adoptive father, knit by natural and strengthened by adoptive ties, continues firm and unshaken; so that the adopted [illegible] family in the [illegible]

Non solum autem naturales liberi, secundum ea, quæ diximus, in potestate nostra sunt; verum etiam ii, quos adoptamus.

Divisio Adoptionis.

1. Adoptio autem duobus modis fit; aut Principali Rescripto; aut imperio magistratus. Imperatoris auctoritate adoptare quis potest eos, easve, qui, quæve sui juris sunt. Quæ species adoptionis dicitur Adrogatio. Imperio magistratus adoptamus eos, easve, qui, quæve in potestate parentum sunt; sive primum gradum liberorum obtineant, qualis est filius, filia; sive inferiorem, qualis est nepos, nepois, pronepos, pronepotis.

Qui possunt adoptare filiumfamilias, vel non.

2. Sed hodie ex nostra Constitutione, cum filiusfamilias a patre naturali extraneæ personæ in adoptionem datur, jura patria naturalis minime dissolvuntur, nec quicquam ad patrem adoptivum transit, nec in potestate ejus est: licet ab intestato jura successionis ei a nobis tributa sint. Si vero pater naturalis non extraneo, sed avo filii sui materno; vel, si ipse pater naturalis fuerit emancipatus, etiam avo vel proavo simili modo paterno vel materno filium suum dederit in adoptionem: in hoc casu, quia concurrunt in unum personam & naturalia, & adoptionis jura, manet stabile jus patris adoptivi, & naturali vinculo copulatum &, legitimo adoptionis modo constitutum; ut & in familia & in potestate hujusmodi patris adoptivi sit.

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Rough Notes taken from Rangoon to the Blue Mountains. By the Author of "A Narrative of the Second Burmese War." Calcutta, 1855.

BOOK-MAKING is at all times a literary crime. There is not and cannot be any possible conjuncture of circumstances in which it can be tolerated, and when the critic can convict an author of the crime, (as is the case too often) he is justified in impaling him without mercy. Book-making is doubly a crime in the present day, when the intensity and scholarship of literature are sacrificed to its wide diffusion and consequent shallowness. Now whatever necessity there may have existed for a Narrative of the Second Burmese War, we question if the same can be pleaded in the case of the tract before us. It may be interesting or graphic, or true, or the very opposite, but still the necessity for it must be proved beyond the vanity of its author—and that we imagine will be very difficult.

The writer sketches the present state of Burmah under the influence of English civilization, and glances at its probably glorious future. He transports himself to Calcutta, and having read up our own antiquarian articles, he talks of the past of Calcutta, with all the gravity of an original enquirer, and of its present with all the pert micro-criticism of a new-fledged cadet or sentimental griffin. He introduces personal allusions that are sadly out of place, and speaks in terms of admiration of those in whom all sensible men can see nothing in but indifference. In the course of some imaginative remarks on the pursuits of the Calcutta folks, he has a fling at ourselves, which will be easily explained by a reference to our Number XLII., in which *A Narrative of the Second Burmese War* is noticed.

The most disappointing part of the sketch is that which refers to the glorious Neilgherries. In describing them he fails, and historical allusions are meagre and inharmonious. Altogether the author seems to have got together some pretty sayings and startling facts on various subjects under the sun, and knowing neither his own power, nor his own weakness, is anxious to crowd all into his pages, without any regard to unity or propriety. No doubt, many will say what a clever fellow! but many will also be induced to add, what a foolish one!

The author would in time become a good writer—were he to clip his wings periodically, and sacrifice the clippings to the goddess of humility. He is not merely rash but conceitedly so, and in the attempt to be brilliant and clever, becomes flippant and impertinent. He has in him all the elements of a good writer, but we fear he will never become one, unless he can exercise a self-denial that is the most severe and terrible of all—that of mutilating and destroying one's literary offspring that out of the elements there may be formed one child of perfect because of harmonious beauty. If the author should again wish to take up his pen, let it be when he has passed through this severe ordeal, and he may write something worthy of living for ever.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO ISLAM, AND THE CORAN IN ITS LAST MECCAN STAGE.

ART. I.—1. *The Coran.*

2. *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran von C. F. Gerock. Hamburg und Gotha,* 1839.

HAVING in a previous paper traced the history of Mahomet to his flight from Mecca, we propose now to examine the portions of the Coran revealed during the last three years of his residence in that city.

It is in the Suras of this period that we first find any detailed mention of Christianity. The connection at that time professed by Mahomet with our holy Faith, never became closer, or materially altered. It will therefore be convenient here to review the entire relation of Christianity to Islam, without confining the enquiry to the Meccan period only of the prophet's life.

Though the Christians and their Prophet are frequently referred to in the Coran by name, yet extended notices of the narrative or doctrines of the Gospel are few, and scattered; —so few, indeed, that it will be possible (and we think it will prove interesting to the Christian reader), to enumerate them all.

The following is the fullest and the earliest account of the Gospel history; and was produced by Mahomet shortly after his journey to Tâyif. From its subject the Sura is entitled MARY, (Maryam), and opens thus:—

A commemoration of the mercy of the Lord unto His servant ZACHARIAS;—
When he called upon his Lord with a secret invocation.
He said;—Oh Lord! as for me, my bones are decrepit, and my head white with hoar hair.
And I have never prayed unto Thee, Oh Lord! unheard.
Verily, I fear my kinsmen after me; and my Wife is barren. Wherefore grant unto me from thyself a successor*,
Who shall be my heir, and an heir of the Family of Jacob, and make him, Oh Lord! well pleasing.

* ولي In the parallel passage in Sura III, 38, the expression used is ذرية or *offspring*. Gerock would construe the passage as the prayer for an heir generally, and not from his own body, of which from the opening of his prayer it seems he had no expectation. He goes so far as to say that the prayer alludes probably to the marriage of Mary, his "ward," or "foster-daughter," (Pflegetochter) whose child he assumes (but seemingly on very insufficient grounds) would be his heir. *Christologie, p.* 20. We very much doubt this explanation, and would

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Oh ZACHARIAS! WE bring thee good tidings of a son, whose name shall be JOHN;
WE have not made any to be called thereby before.*
He said;—Oh Lord! whence shall there be a son unto me, since my Wife is barren, and I truly have reached the imbecility of old age?
He said;—So shall it be. Thus saith thy Lord,—It is easy unto me; for verily I created thee heretofore when thou was nothing.
He said;—Lord! make unto me a sign. He said;—This is thy sign; thou shalt not speak unto any for three nights,† though sound in health.
And he went forth unto his people from the chamber, and he motioned unto them that they should praise God in the morning and evening.
Oh JOHN! Take the Book‡ with power; and WE gave him Wisdom, as a child,
And compassion from Us, and Purity; and he was virtuous, and dutiful unto his parents; he was not overbearing nor rebellious.
Peace be on him the day he was born, and the day he shall die, and the day he shall be raised to life!
And make mention, in the Book,§ of MARY, when she withdrew from her people into an eastern place,
And took a curtain to hide herself from them.
And WE sent unto her Our SPIRIT, and he appeared unto her a perfect man.
She said;—I seek refuge in the Merciful from thee if thou fearest God!
He said;—Nay, verily, but I am a Messenger of thy Lord, that I may give unto thee a virtuous son.‖
She said;—How shall there be to me a son, and a man hath not touched me, and I am not unchaste.
He said;—So shall it be. Thus saith thy Lord,—It is easy with me; and We shall make him a sign unto mankind, and a mercy from us, for it is a thing decreed.
And she conceived him, and withdrew with him *(in the womb)*, unto a distant place.
And the pains of labour came upon her by the trunk of a Palm-tree;

---

take the common sense of ذرية *i. e.*, "offspring to Zacharias himself." The Mussulman commentators do not stand on such difficulties. Abd al Cadir, the Urdu translator of the Coran, holds that Zacharias prayed "in secret," because at his advanced age, to have prayed *openly* for offspring, would have subjected him to ridicule!

* Evidently based on Luke i. 61.

† Compare Sura III, 41. In the Gospel, Luke i. 20, 64, the dumbness continues until after the birth of John.

‡ That is, the Old Testament. The verse is spoken by God Himself.

§ *I. E.*, the Coran.

‖ Gerock, (p. 37,) with much special pleading, endeavours to prove Mahomet's doctrine to have been that Gabriel was the father of Jesus by ordinary generation. The only expression which gives the shadow of a colour to this idea is the one in the text, where Gabriel declares himself sent, "that *I may give* thee a virtuous Son." But from the parallel passage, (Sura III. 45) it clearly appears that no stress can be laid upon these words. The following is the account there given: "When the Angels said, *Oh* MARY! *Verily God giveth thee good tidings of the* WORD *from Him*, JESUS, *the Messiah, the Son of Mary, &c.* She said: Whence shall there be a son unto me, and no man hath touched me? He said,—Thus doth God create that which He pleaseth; when He hath decreed a thing, He only saith unto it, BE, and it shall be, &c.

Besides, in both passages, after the annunciation by Gabriel, the question of Mary as to how this should be, seeing that "she knew not a man" (Luke i. 34); and the reply of Gabriel that it would be by the Almighty power of God, are conclusive against any such meaning as that started by Gerock; and show that Mahomet simply adopted the Gospel story as it was narrated to him, even to verbal coincidence.

It is farther clear from the phrases repeatedly applied in the Coran to Mary, as "she *whose virginity we preserved*, and into whom WE breathed of Our spirit," that Mahomet avowed the immaculate and supernatural conception of Jesus. Sura XXI., 91; and LXVI., 13; the former revealed at Mecca, the latter at Medina.

The expression, التي احصنت فرجها, which it is not necessary to translate literally, will satisfy the Arabic scholar, that Gerock's theory is utterly groundless.

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She said,—Would that I had died from before this, and been forgotten, out of mind!*
And there cried one from below her,—Grieve not thou! verily thy Lord hath provided beneath thee a fountain:
And shake unto thee the root of the Palm-tree: it will drop upon thee ripe dates, ready plucked.
Wherefore eat and drink, and be comforted; and if thou seest any man,
Say,—Verily I have vowed unto the Merciful a fast, and I will not speak to any man this day.
And she came with the child unto her people, carrying him; they said,—Oh MARY! Verily thou hast done a strange thing:
Oh Sister of Aaron!† thy father was not an evil man, nor was thy mother unchaste.
And she pointed to the child. They said,—How shall we speak with him that is an infant in the cradle?‡
He *(the child)* said;—Verily I am the servant of God; He hath given me the Book, and made me a Prophet,
And made me blessed wheresoever I may be, and hath commanded me *(to observe)* Prayer and Alms-giving while I remain alive,
And made me dutiful to my mother, and not overbearing nor wretched:—
Peace be on me the day I was born, and the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised alive!
This is JESUS, the Word of truth,§ concerning whom they are in doubt.
It is not for God to take unto Him a Son:—Glory be to Him!
When He hath decreed a matter, He only saith unto it, BE, and it shall be. *Sura XIX.*

There is but one other detailed account of the birth of Jesus in the Coran,‖ and that was delivered a few years before the death of Mahomet, on the occasion of an embassy to Medina

* Gerock, (*ibidem.*) as it appears to us quite gratuitously, turns these words of natural anguish into a proof of his doctrine as to the paternity of Je-us.

† In Sura III., 33, she is likewise called *the daughter of* IMRAN: and it is therefore concluded by some, that Mahomet confounded Mary (Maryam) with the sister of Moses. The confusion of names is the more suspicious, as it is not favoured by Christian authority of any description,—the traditional names of Mary's parents being Joachim and Anna.

Gerock combats this idea at some length, (p. 24;) showing that Imrân is never named in the Coran as the father of Moses, nor Mary (Maryam) as his sister, and that Mahomet is seen elsewhere to be well aware of the interval between Jesus and Moses. The latter fact cannot, of course, be doubted. Mahomet could never have imagined that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the sister of Moses and Aaron. But it is still extremely probable that the confusion of this mis-nomenclature originated in the notions of Jewish informants, amongst whom the only notorious Mary, (Maryam) was the daughter of Imrân, and sister of Moses: and they would ordinarily give the name of *Maryam* those accompaniments. Mahomet adopted the phraseology (for his informants were mainly, if not solely, Jews,) without perceiving the anachronism it involved.

‡ The tradition that Jesus spoke in his cradle is referred to in the *Gospel of the Infancy*, ch. I. "Invenimus in libro Josephi Pontificis, qui vixit tempore Christi, Jesum locutum esse, et quidem cum in cunis jaceret, dixisseque matri suae Mariae: Ego, quem peperisti, sum Jesus filius Dei, verbum, quem admodum annunciavit tibi angelus Gabriel, misitque me pater meus ad salutem mundi." —*See Gerock, p.* 47.

§ Or, "*a true saying, concerning which,*" &c.: the original, قول الحق is susceptible of both constructions.

‖ *Sura III.*, 33—54. This passage contains in much detail the birth of Mary, and Gerock has traced some approximations in it to the Apocryphal Gospels.
1. Mary's parents devoted her while in the womb to the Divine service, Sura III., 35, compared with Evang. de nativ. Mariae:—"Voverunt tamen (ejus parentes) si forte Deus donaret eis sobolem, eam se Domini servitio mancipaturos." 2. God supplied her supernaturally with daily food, *Cnf. Protev. Jacob*, ch. 8; *και ἐλαμβανε τροφην ἐκ χειρος ἀγγελου.* So, *Hist.* Nativ Mar. et infant. Salv.; quotidie exa, quam de manu angeli accipiebat, &c. 3. The relatives of Mary cast arrows (lots) for her charge, Sura III., 44; compared with Ev. Nativ. Mar., *cap.* 6—8; *Protev. Jacob, cap.* 8, 9.
A *common* traditional source is thus apparent. *Gerock, p.* 30.

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from the Christian tribe of Najrân, the singular particulars of which will be alluded to below.

Of the *Life* of Christ, the particulars are unaccountably meagre, and mingled with fable: the passages, too, in which they occur, belong solely to the prophet's later years at Medina. The object of the Mission of Jesus to the Jews was to confirm their Scriptures, to modify and lighten some of the burdens of their Law, and to recall them to the true service of God.*

His miracles are thus described:—

> On a certain day shall God assemble the Apostles, and Say;—What reply was made unto you? They shall say;—We know not, verily Thou art the Knower of secrets.

Then shall God say;—Oh JESUS, Son of Mary! call to mind My grace upon Thee and upon Thy MOTHER, when I strengthened Thee with the HOLY SPIRIT, that Thou shouldest speak with men in the cradle, and in mature life:—and when I taught Thee the Scripture and Wisdom, and the Law, and the Gospel;—and when Thou formedst of clay like unto the figure of a bird by My permission, and thou blewest thereupon and it became a Bird by my permission:—and Thou didst heal the Blind and the Leper by My permission;—and when thou didst raise the Dead by my permission;† and when I held back the Children of Israel from Thee at the time Thou showedst unto them evident signs, and the Unbelievers among them said,—Verily this is nought but manifest sorcery.

And remember when I spake by inspiration to the Apostles,‡ saying,—Believe on Me, and on My Apostle. They said,—We believe; bear thou witness that we are Moslems §

When the Apostles said,—Oh JESUS, Son of MARY! is Thy Lord able to cause a Table to descend upon us from Heaven? He said,—Fear God; if ye be faithful. They said,—We desire that we may eat therefrom, and that our hearts be set at ease, and that we may know that Thou verily hast spoken unto us the truth, and that we may be witnesses thereof. Then spake JESUS, Son of MARY,—Oh God, our Lord! send down unto us a Table from Heaven, that it may be unto us a Feast-day,‖ unto the first of us and unto the last of us, and a sign from Thee; and nourish us, for Thou art the best of Nourishers. And God said,—Verily I will send it down unto you; and whoever after that shall disbelieve amongst you, surely I will torment him with a torment wherewith I shall not torment any other creature.

And when God shall say,—Oh JESUS, Son of MARY! didst Thou speak unto mankind saying,—Take Me and My Mother for two Gods besides THE LORD? He shall say,—Glory be to Thee! it is not for Me to say that which I know to be not the truth. If I had said that, verily thou wouldest have known it. Thou knowest that which is in Me, but I know not that

* Sura III., 49.

† These miracles are again recapitulated in Sura III., 48, with this addition;—"And I will tell unto you what ye eat, and what ye store in your houses," *i. e.*, as a proof of his knowledge of the invisible.

‡ الحواريين used only of the Apostles *of Jesus.*

§ *I. E.*, those who have surrendered themselves unto God.

‖ عيدا, An Eed, or religious festival recurring periodically.

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which is in thee; verily, Thou art the Knower of secrets. I spake not unto them aught but what Thou commandedst Me, saying,—Worship God, My Lord and your Lord; and I was a witness unto them whilst I continued amongst them; and since Thou hast taken me away, Thou hast Thyself been their keeper, and Thou art a Witness over all things. If Thou punish them, verily, they are Thy servants, and if Thou have mercy upon them, verily, Thou art the Glorious, the Wise!

God will answer,—This is a day on which their truthfulness shall profit the truthful. They shall have Gardens with rivulets flowing through them, and remain therein for ever. God is well-pleased with them, and they well-pleased with Him. That shall be a great Felicity!*

This passage is remarkable as affording in the supernatural table that descended from heaven, the only possible allusion, traceable in the Coran, to the Lord's Supper. The tale is probably founded on some misapprehended tradition regarding "the Table of the Lord."†

To complete the miserable outline, it remains only to be added that Jesus escaped the machinations of the Jews, and was taken up alive to heaven. In a passage aimed at his Jewish enemies of Medina, Mahomet thus upbraids their rebellious fore-fathers:—

—— And for their unbelief; and for their having spoken against Mary a grievous calumny; and for their saying,—*Verily we have killed the* Messiah, Jesus, *son of* Mary, *the Apostle of God*. And they killed him not, nor did they crucify him, but he was simulated (in the person of another) unto them. And verily they that are at variance about him, are in doubt concerning him. They have no knowledge regarding him, but follow only a conjecture. And they slew him not certainly. But God raised him up unto Himself; and God is the Glorious, the Wise! And there is none of the People of the Book but shall believe in him before his death, and in the day of Judgment he will be a Witness against them.‡

In addressing the idolatrous Meccans, Mahomet appealed to the Ministry, Revelations, and rejection of Jesus, as he was wont to appeal to the history of other prophets, in analogy and support of his own Mission. His adversaries saw their

* Sura V., 118 to end.

† The singular fancy of the Traditionists and Commentators has created a host of miraculous accompaniments to this table;—fruit from the trees of Paradise, bread, meats, and fish, which, though broiled, were still alive, and for the convenience of the guests threw off their scales and bones!

The poor, lame, and wretched were invited to the feast, which lasted forty days. The commentators probably confounded the Lord's Supper with the feeding by Jesus of the multitudes.

‡ The purport of this last verse is obscure. It probably implies that the death of Christ will take place before the Judgment Day: and that the Jews will then be forced to believe in him.

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opportunity, and replied that if Jesus, who appeared in human form, was worshipped by his followers, there could be nothing absurd, (as he would insist,) in their praying through images,—the representatives of heavenly powers,—to God. They exclaimed with delight that his whole argument thus fell to the ground ;—

And when JESUS, Son of MARY, was proposed as an example, lo! thy people cried aloud,
And they said, What! Are our own gods the best, or he?
They have proposed this unto thee only as a cause of dispute;
Yea, they are a contentious people!
Verily he was no other than a servant, upon whom WE were gracious, and WE made him an example unto the Children of Israel:—
[And if WE pleased We could make from amongst yourselves Angels to succeed you upon Earth:]
And verily he shall be for a sign of the last hour. Wherefore doubt not thereof, and follow me; this is the right way.
And let not Satan obstruct you, for he is your manifest Enemy. *Sura XLIII.*, 56-60.

This was in fact the only position which, at the present advanced period of his Mission, Mahomet could consistently fall back upon; and it was ever after carefully maintained. Some terms of veneration, in use among Christians, are indeed applied to Jesus, as "the WORD of God," and "His SPIRIT which he breathed into Mary."* But the Divine Sonship was stedfastly denied: the worship of Jesus by the Christians was placed in the same category as the supposed worship of Ezra by the Jews ;† and, in one place, the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly reprobated. It is a Medina Sura ;—

Ye People of the Book! Commit not extravagancies in your religion; and speak not of God aught but the truth. For verily the Messiah, JESUS, Son of MARY, is an Apostle of God, and His WORD which He placed in Mary, and a Spirit from Him. Wherefore believe in God, and in the Apostles; and say not, there are THREE. Refrain: it will be well for you. Verily the Lord is one God. Glory be to Him! far be it from Him, that there should be to him a Son. To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the Heavens and in the Earth; and He is a sufficient Patron. The Messiah disdaineth not to be a Servant of God: neither the Cherubim that draw nigh unto Him. *Sura IV.*, 169, 170.

It may well be doubted whether Mahomet ever understood the real doctrines of Christianity. The few passing observations regarding our Faith to be found in the Coran, commence at a period when his system was already, in great part, matured, and seem founded upon information not only deficient but deceptive. The whole of his historical know-

* So *Sura IV.*, 169. "His WORD, which He placed in Mary, and a SPIRIT from Him." John was to bear testimony to "the WORD from God," *Sura III.* 39. At the annunciation, the Virgin is thus addressed ;—"Oh Mary! God giveth thee good tidings of THE WORD from Himself,—the Messiah, Jesus," &c., *Sura III.*, 40. "WE breathed into her of OUR SPIRIT." *LXVI.*, 13: *XXI.*, 91.

† *Sura IX.*, 31.

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ledge* (for whatever he knew, it was his practice to embody in the Coran,) is contained in the few extracts already before the reader; and whether regarded in its own meagre and apocryphal outlines, or compared with the ample details of Jewish history, both Scriptural and traditional, shows that the sources were singularly barren and defective. The Sacrament of Baptism is not even alluded to; and if there be an allusion to the Eucharist, we have seen it to be utterly disfigured, and well nigh lost in fable. The great doctrine of Redemption through the death of Christ was apparently unknown (for if it had been known and rejected, it would no doubt, have been combated in the Coran,) and His very crucifixion denied.

We do not find a single ceremony or doctrine of Islam in the smallest degree moulded, or even tinged, by the peculiar tenets of Christianity:—While Judaism has, on the contrary, given its colour to the whole system, and lent to it the shape and type, if not the actual substance of many ordinances.

But although Christianity is thus so remote from Islam as to have had practically no influence in the formation of its creed and ritual, yet, in the *theory* of Mahomet's system, it occupies a place equal, if not superior, to that of Judaism. To understand this we must take a brief review of the development of the system itself.

In his first breathings of pseudo-inspiration, the prophet professed no distinct relation with any previous religion, excepting perhaps with the purer element in the national worship said to have been derived from Abraham, though grievously overlaid with idolatry and superstition. His Mission was simply to recall the Arabs to the service of the true God, and a belief in "the day of reckoning."

In process of time, he gained, through Jewish informants, some acquaintance with the existing Scriptures of the Jews and Christians, and the systems founded thereon. The new Revelation was now announced as concurrent with the previous "Books." The Coran was described mainly as an attes-

* Of the period subsequent to the ascension, the only trace of acquaintance with the spread of Christianity is in the story of the three Apostles (one of whom is supposed to have been Simeon Peter,) who went to Antioch, and of one of their converts there who suffered martyrdom. *Sura XXXVI.*, 13—28.

The story of the seven sleepers, who slumbered 309 years, and then arose to find the idolatrous world Christianized, can hardly be classed under this head, though it shows the interest Mahomet was beginning to take in Christians. It will be found, with abundance of childish romance and fiction, in Sura XVIII.

Both Suras belong to the late Meccan period.

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tation, in the Arabic tongue, and for the people of Mecca and its neighbourhood, of the preceding Scriptures. It was purely auxiliary in its object, and local in its action. From the attacks of the idolaters Mahomet sheltered himself behind the character and authority of those Scriptures, admitted in some measure even by the Meccans. When his work was abused as a "forgery" and an "antiquated tale," the most common and the most effective retort was;—"Nay, but it is a confirmation of the preceding Revelation, and a warning in simple Arabic to the people of this land." The number, and the solemnity of such asseverations secured the confidence, or at least neutrality, of the Jews and Christians.*

But the system of Mahomet could not stop at this point. Was he not an Apostle, equally inspired with any of his predecessors? Was he not foretold, as the prophet that should arise, by Moses in the Pentateuch, and in the Gospel by Jesus? If he was, in truth, the last of the Apostles, would not his mouldings of the true faith remain permanent to the end of time? These conclusions were fast ripening in the mind of Mahomet; and their effect was to make the Coran rise superior in authority over both the Old and the New Testament. Not that it was ever held to be superior *in kind* to either. All three are spoken of as "the word of God," and the belief in them inculcated on pain of hell fire.† But the Coran was the *latest* revelation; and, in so far as it pleased the Almighty to modify his preceding commands, was paramount.

But in this latter phase there are two stages. Mahomet did not at once substitute the Coran in supersession of the previous Scriptures. The Jew was still to follow the Law; he was to believe also in the New Testament and in the mission

* See Suras XLVI., 8–12, 30; VI., 93, 156; XXXVI., 6; XII., 11. There are many other similar passages.

† The New Testament is spoken of in the Coran under the Sole title of *Ingil* (Evangelium.) Gospel: and it is described as *given* by *God to Jesus*. Hence Gerock would conclude that Mahomet did *not intend* the Gospel in common use among Christians, which was revealed after the ascension of Jesus; but some other Gospel. (p. 91.)

The question however is not what might be deduced from a systematic and close construction of the expressions of a man grossly ignorant on the subject, but what was his fairly inferrible meaning. And in this view it is evident from the whole tenor of the Coran, that by "the Gospel" Mahomet meant the sacred Scriptures in common and universal use amongst the Christians of his day. His ignorance may have led him to suppose that those Scriptures were revealed to Jesus: or he may perhaps have intended only that the principles and doctrines of the Gospel were revealed by God to Jesus, and by him taught to the Apostles who recorded them. However this may be, the clear fact is in no-wise affected, that Mahomet, by the term Gospel, referred to the received Cannon of Scripture as then current among Christians.

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of Jesus. The Christian, too, was to hold fast by His Gospel. But both Jew and Christian were to admit equally the Apostleship of Mahomet and the authority of the Coran. The necessity, indeed, of conforming to their respective Scriptures, is urged upon them in the strongest terms. The Jews of Medina are repeatedly summoned "to judge by the Book," that is by the Old Testament; and they are warned against the danger of accepting a part only of God's word, and rejecting a part. The following passages inculcate a similar duty on both Jews and Christians:

SAY, Oh ye people of the Book! ye are not grounded upon anything until ye set up both the Law* and the Gospel, as well as that which hath been sent down unto you from your Lord.†—*Sura V.*, 68.

And how will they (the Jews of Medina,) make thee their judge, since they have already by them the Towrât, wherein is the command of God, and have not obeyed it. They will surely turn their backs after that; and they are not believers.

Verily WE have sent down the Old Testament, wherein are a direction and a light. The Prophets that submitted themselves to God judged thereby the Jews: and the doctors and priests did likewise, in accordance with that portion of the Book of God, which WE committed to their charge; and they were witnesses thereof. Wherefore fear not men, but fear ME, and sell not the Signs of God for a small price. AND WHOSOEVER DOTH NOT JUDGE BY THAT WHICH GOD HATH REVEALED, VERILY THEY ARE THE UNBELIEVERS.‡ And WE have written therein for them;—Verily life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, tooth for tooth, and for wounding retaliation: and he that remitteth the same as alms, it is an atonement for him' AND HE WHO JUDGETH NOT BY THAT WHICH GOD HATH REVEALED, THEY ARE THE TRANSGRESSORS.§

And WE caused JESUS, the Son of MARY, to follow in their footsteps, attesting the Scripture, viz., the Towràt which preceded him: and WE gave him the Gospel wherein is Guidance and Light, attesting the Towrât which precedeth it, a Direction and an Admonition to the pious:—and that the people of the Gospel (Christians,) may judge according to that which God hath revealed therein. AND WHOSOEVER DOTH NOT JUDGE ACCORDING TO THAT WHICH GOD HATH REVEALED, they ARE THE WICKED ONES.‖

And WE have revealed to thee the Book¶ in truth, attesting the Scripture which precedeth it, and a custodian (*or*, witness) thereof. Wherefore judge between them in accordance with what God hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires away from that which hath been given unto thee.

To every one have WE given a law and a way. And if God had pleased, He had made you all one people. But (He hath done otherwise) that He might try you in that which He hath severally given unto you. Where-

* التوراة the Towrât. As used in the Coran, this word sometimes signifies the Pentateuch only, sometimes the entire Scriptures of the Old Testament held by the Jews. According to the context of this and the following passage, the latter meaning is intended.

† *i. e.*, The Coran.

‡ الكافرون § الظالمون ‖ الفاسقون ¶ *i. e.*, the Coran.

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fore press forward in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and He will tell you that in which ye disagree.

Judge therefore between them according to that which God hath revealed, and follow not their desires, and beware of them lest they tempt thee aside from a part of that which God hath revealed unto thee.—*Sura V.*, 50—57.

Thus each of the former revelations was not only to be believed in as the Word of God by all the faithful of whatever denomination, but to be directly used and implicity observed by Jews and Christians respectively (as their guide and director) and by Mahomet himself in judging amongst them. In disputed and doubtful points, the Coran was to be admitted as a conclusive oracle.

In conformity with this expansive system, we find that, at a period long anterior to the Hegira, Mahomet propounded in the Coran the doctrine that a grand Catholic faith pervaded all ages and revelations—the pure features of which had been held in the boldest relief by the patriarch Abraham.* This primitive religion varied at each dispensation by accidential rites, comprised as its essential features, belief in the One true God, rejection of all idolatry or worship of Mediators as sharers in the power and glory of the Deity, and the implicit surrender of the will to God. Such surrender is termed "Islam;" and hence Abraham is called "the first of Moslems." To this original Islam it was now the Mission of Mahomet to recall *the whole of mankind.*

Each successive Revelation had been abused by its votaries, who had quickly turned aside from the pure elements forming the ground work of the dispensation. They had magnified or misinterpreted rites intended to be only collateral. By perverting doctrines, they had turned the gift of Revelation into a Curse. They had fallen into a thousand sects, "each rejoicing in its own opinions," and fencing itself round with intolerance and intense hatred.

Amidst the contending factions, truth might possibly be discovered by the earnest enquirer, but it would be with difficult, and uncertain steps. The Jew denounced the Christian, and the Christian the Jew. Some worshipped not only Jesus but His mother: others held both to be mere creatures. From this labyrinth of confusion and error it pleased the Almighty once again to deliver mankind. Mahomet was the Apostle of this grand and final Mission, and his judgment was to be

* *See Sura XVI.*, 120, 123. Connected with this Catholic faith is the doctrine that a prophet has been sent to every people. *Sura XXVIII.*, 60; *XXII.*, 36; *v.* 57.

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heard unquestioned amid the clash of opposing authorities. This in a Meccan Sura :—

He hath ordained unto you the Faith which He commanded unto Noah, and which We have revealed unto thee, and which We commanded unto Abraham and Moses and Jesus, saying, set up the Faith and fall not to variance.

And they fell not to variance until after the knowledge (of Divine Revelation,) had come unto them,* not of enmity among themselves; and if the word from thy Lord had not gone forth (respiting them) unto a fixed time, the matter had been decided between them. And verily they that have inherited the Book after them are in a perplexing doubt regarding the same.

Wherefore call them thereto (*i. e.*, unto the Catholic Faith;) and be stedfast as thou hast been commanded, and follow not their desires; and say, I believe in all the Scriptures which God hath revealed; and I am commanded to do justice between you. God is our Lord and your Lord. To us will be reckoned our works, and to you your works.† There is no ground of difference‡ between us and you.—*Sura XLII.*, 12—15.

In this intermediate stage, Salvation was not confined to Islam, but would be obtained by every righteous man, whatever his religion, so as he abjured idolatry.

In the last period of development, the Coran rides triumphant over both the Law and the Gospel, and casts them unheeded into the shade. This, however, arose not from any express declaration, but from the necessary progress of the system. The popular impression which would attribute to Mahomet either the formal cancelment of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, or any imputation against their perfect genuineness and authority, is entirely mistaken. No expressions regarding them ever escaped the lips of Mahomet, but those of the most implicit reverence and highest eulogy.§

* This is a favourite idea repeated frequently in the Coran as in Sura II., 254. The commentators are inclined to explain it of Islam, viz., that Jews and Christians did not fall away till Mahomet came, and then they denied the prophet they had been expecting. But the idea seems to point rather to the perversion of former Revelations which, instead of leading men to the true faith broke them up into opposing sects.

† That is,—"your works will not be vain and rejected as those of the idolators, but will be reckoned towards Salvation, equally with those of my own followers."

‡ حجّة "Ground of contention," "quarrel," "dispute."

§ A pamphlet, we believe, is about to be published by the Agra Tract Society, entitled, *The Testimony borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures*, in which every text having any reference whatever to those Scriptures, will be quoted. It is clearly proved by this collection, that the strongest and most unequivocal testimony is borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as current in the time of Mahomet; that the evidence extends equally to their genuineness and authority; and that there is not a hint anywhere to be found as to their cancelment or interpolation.

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It was the opposition of the Jews, and the cold suspicion of the Christians, as well as the martial supremacy of Islam over the Hejâz, that imperceptibly, but inevitably, led to the exclusive imposition of the authority of Mahomet and the Coran. The change that dispensed with previous Revelation was made in silence. In the concluding, as in the early days of his mission, Mahomet hardly ever refers to the former Scriptures. His scheme was complete, and rested now on other pillars. The steps by which he had ascended to his final elevation were left far behind and forgotten.

Islam, indeed, had in the later years of the prophet, been rapidly diverging from all sympathy with the Bible. An appeal to it would now have proved embarrassing: and it seems probable that his silence was in some degree intentional. Whatever effect the doctrines of Christianity, if properly understood, might have had on the mind of Mahomet when yet enquiring, and moulding for itself a creed, it is evident that long before the final settlement of Islam at the last Pilgrimage to Mecca, his system had hardened into a form in which it was impossible that any new influences could produce material alteration. Argument was not now tolerated. Mahomet was the Prophet of God. His word was law. Every opposing doctrine must vanish before the Divine command.

The exclusive and growingly intolerant position of Islam is sufficiently manifested by the ban issued against the Jews and Christians, as unfit for the sacred rites and holy precincts of the Meccan temple; and by the Divine command to war against them until, in confession of the superiority of Islam, they should consent to the payment of a tribute.

It may be interesting to illustrate the practical treatment of Christianity by Mahomet, after his acquisition of political power, by describing some of the treaties entered into with Christian tribes. The following relates to the important Christian settlement of Najrân.

"And the Prophet of the Lord wrote to the Bishop of the 'Bani Hârith, and the Bishops of Nâjran, and their Priests, 'and all that followed them, and their Monks,—saying, that 'they should continue in (the possession and practice of) every 'thing small and great, as it then stood, in their churches, 'their prayers, and their monasteries. The pledge of God and 'of His prophet is given that no Bishop shall be removed from 'his bishoprick, nor any Monk from his monastery, nor any

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'Priest from his priesthood; that their authority and rights 'shall not be altered; nor any thing whatever which is custo-'mary amongst them; so long as they shall conduct them-'selves peaceably and uprightly. They shall not be burdened 'with oppression, neither shall they oppress."*

The narrative of the embassy of this people to Medina is in itself curious, and has a double interest from being referred to in the Coran. It is as follows† :—

A deputation of fourteen chief men from Najrân repaired to Mahomet. Among them was Ackil or Abd al Masîh, of the Bani Kinda, their chief, Abdal Hârith, their Bishop, and his brother Kurz, their guide. On reaching Medina, they entered the mosque, and prayed turning towards the east: and they were clothed in fine raiment lined with silk. Then the prophet called them: but when they came, he turned away and would not speak with them. And Othmân told them it was because of their dress. So they departed that day.

In the morning they came again clothed in their monastic dress, and saluted Mahomet; and he returned their salutation, and invited them to Islam, and they refused; and words

* *Wâckidi, p.* 51½. At p. 36½ there is another treaty with the Christians of Najrân given in greater detail, and probably subsequent to the above. It is to the following effect:—that Mahomet had commanded them to render tribute of all their fruits, yellow, white, and black (ripe and unripe?) and captives; but that he had generously commuted this for 2,000 suits of clothes of the value of an owekea (ounce of silver) each; 1,000 to be given every Prajab and 1,000 to every Safar. Whatever exceeded or fell short of the value of an owekea to come into account; as likewise all armour, horses, camels and other goods taken from them by the Moslems. They were to entertain Mahomet's messengers (collectors) twenty days or less, but not to detain them beyond a month.

When there was war in Yemen they were to lend Mahomet thirty suits of armour, thirty horses, and thirty camels; and any that were lost were to be made good by Mahomet's people.

On the part of Mahomet, the guarantee of the Prophet of the Lord was given for their lives, religion, lands and property,—the absent as well as the present,—and for their Churches and places of prayer. No Bishop to be removed from his bishoprick, nor any Monk from his monastery; nor any minister (وقف) from his ministry (وقفانية). Everything, little and great, to remain as it then was. No claim of blood prior to Islam to be allowed. Claims of right to be decided justly. Whoever took interest was free from Mahomet's guarantee.

"Now for all that is written in this paper, there is the protection of God and his Prophet, for ever until the Lord send forth His command (*i. e.* the day of judgment) if ye deal uprightly and conduct your affairs properly, ye shall not be burdened with injury." Abu Sofian, and five others witnesses.

† The statement is given from Wâckidi. Hishâmi (p. 200). has encompassed his version of it with numerous puerile additions in favour of Islam, such as that their Bishops had with them books inherited from their predecessors and bearing the seal of each successive bishop, in which a notice of Mahomet was found; imaginative conversations between Mahomet and the party to the discomfiture of the latter, &c.

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and disputation increased between them. And Mahomet recited to them passages from the Coran, and said:—"If ye deny that which I can say unto you, *come let us curse each other.*" So they went away to consider the matter. And on the morrow Abd al Masîh, with two of the chief men came to Mahomet and said;—"We have determined that we shall not curse with thee; wherefore command regarding us whatsoever thou wilt, we will give it; and we will enter into treaty with thee. So he made a treaty with them;* and they returned to their cities. But in the evening Ackil with a companion went back to Mahomet and professed Islam, so they were received and entertained in the house of Abu Ayûb the Adjutor.†

The incident is thus alluded to in the Coran:—

Verily, the analogy of Jesus is with God, like unto the analogy of Adam. He created him out of the dust, then said unto him BE, and he was. This is the truth from thy Lord: wherefore be not thou amongst the doubters.

And whosoever shall dispute with thee therein after that the true knowledge hath come unto thee; say—*Come let us call out (the names)‡ of our sons and your sons, of our wives and your wives, of ourselves and yourselves; then let us curse one the other, and lay the curse of God upon those that lie!*

Verily this is a true expostion. There is no God but the Lord, and verily God is mighty and wise. And if they turn back, verily God is acquainted with the evil doers.

SAY;—Oh ye people of the Book! come unto a just sentence between us and you, *that we shall not worship aught but God, and that we shall not*

* The particulars of the treaty are similar to those in the previous note.

† *Wâchidi, p.* 69. The subsequent history of the Najrân Christians is there traced. They continued in possession of their lands and rights under the treaty during the rest of Mahomet's life, and the whole of Abu Bakr's Caliphate. Then they were accused of taking usury, and Omar expelled them from the land, and wrote as follows:—

"The despatch of Omar, the Commander of the Faithful, to the people of Najrân. Whoever of them emigrates is under the guarantee of God. No Moslem shall injure them,—to fulfil that which Mahomet and Abu Bakr wrote unto them.

"Now to whomsoever of the chiefs of Syria and Irâc they may repair, let such chiefs allot them lands, and whatever they cultivate therefrom shall be theirs; it is an exchange for their own lands. None shall injure or maltreat them; Moslems will assist them against oppressors. Their tribute is remitted for two years. They will not be troubled except for evil deeds."

Now some of them alighted in Irâc, and settled in Najrânia, near to Cufa. (p.69.)

That the offence of usury is alleged in justification of this measure, appears to us to disprove the common tradition of the command said to have been given by Mahomet on his death-bed, that the Peninsula was to be swept clear of all other religions but Islam.

‡ Sale has it—*Let us call together.* But if the text is rightly referred to the occasion of the Najrân embassy, it can only mean to "call over and curse the names;" because the wives and sons of the embassy were not at hand to summon.

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associate any with Him, nor shall we take any of us the other for Lords besides God. And if they turn back, then bear witness, saying—Verily—WE are the true believers.—*Sura III.*, 57—63.

It was surely a strange manner of settling the question which the Arabian Prophet proposed, and we have no reason to be ashamed of the Christian embassy for declining it. Still we cannot but see in the passage the earnestness of Mahomet's belief, and his conviction that a spiritual illumination had been vouchsafed to him, bringing with it knowledge and certainty where to the Christian all was speculation and conjecture.

Another Christian embassy was received from the Bani Taghlib. "It was formed of sixteen men, some Moslems and some Christians. The latter wore crosses of gold. And the prophet made terms with the Christians, stipulating that they should themselves continue in the profession of their religion, but should not baptize their children in the Christian faith."*

These narratives clearly show the terms of sufferance upon which at the last Mahomet permitted Christianity to exist. It was indeed less obnoxious to him than Judaism, because he did not experience from it such persevering and active hostility. Hence the Clergy and Monks are spoken of in terms of comparative praise.† But after all his grand object was entirely to *supersede* Christianity as well as Judaism, and the professors of both were equally subjected to a humiliating tribute.

The stealthy progress by which this end was reached has now

* *Wâckidi, p* 61½. The account of the embassy of the Bani Hanîfa is more decidedly unfavourable to Christianity, but its details appear of doubtful authority. Moseilama, the false prophet, was among the number, and there are some anticipations of his sacrilegious claims.

As the embassy were departing, "Mahomet gave them a vessel in which were the leavings of the water with which he had performed his lustrations; and he said *When you reach your country, break down your church and sprinkle its site with this water, and make in its place a mosque.* And they did so and the vessel remained with Al Ackâs. And the Muedzzin called to prayers. And the monk of the church heard him, and he exclaimed – *it is the word of truth and the call of truth!* and he fled. And that was the last of the time (of Christianity.) *Wâckidi, p.* 62.

The story appears unlikely, because nowhere else is Mahomet represented as exhibiting such antagonism to Christians and their Churches, when they submitted themselves to him.

† *See Sura LVII.*, 27. "And WE caused Jesus, Son of Mary, to succeed them, and WE put into the hearts of those that followed him compassion and mercy; and the monastic state—they framed it for themselves (WE did not command it unto them) simply out of a desire to please God," &c.

So Sura V., 77 "And thou wilt find the most inclined amongst them to be believers, to be those who profess Christianity—This because there are amongst them Clergy and Monks, and they are not proud; and when they hear that which hath been revealed unto the prophet, thou shalt see their eyes flow with tears, because of what they recognize therein of the truth," &c.

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been made clear. He first confirmed the Scriptures without qualification or reserve. The next asserted for his own revelation a parallel authority, and by degrees a superseding or dispensing power. And, finally, though he never imputed error to the Scripture itself; or (though ceasing to appeal with former frequency to its evidence,) failed to speak of it with veneration, he rejected all the Christian dogmas, and demanded their rejection by his Christian followers, on the simple evidence of his own inspiration. Assuming perhaps that the former Scriptures could not be at variance with the mind of God as now revealed to himself, he cared not to verify his conclusions by a reference to "the Book." A latent consciousness of the weakness of his position probably rendered him unwilling honestly to face the difficulty. His course was guided here, as it was guided at so many other points, by an inexplicable combination of earnest conviction and uneasy questioning, if not of actual though unperceived self-deception. He was sure as to the object; and the means could not be wrong.

It may be useful to enquire briefly from what probable sources Mahomet obtained his meagre and deceptive information of Christianity.

One of the most remarkable traits in the teaching of the Coran is, that Jesus was not crucified, but one resembling him, and mistaken by the Jews, for Jesus. This fact is alleged, as we have seen,* not in contradiction of the Christians; but, *in opposition to the Jews*, who gloried in the assertion that Jesus had been put to death by their nation. Hence it would almost seem that Mahomet believed his teaching on this head to be accordant with that of the Christian Church; and that he really was ignorant of the grand doctrine of the Christian faith,—Redemption through the death of Christ.

The singular correspondence between the allusions to the crucifixion in the Coran, and the wild speculations of the early heretics, has led to the conjecture that Mahomet acquired his notions of Christianity from a Gnostic teacher. But Gnosticism had disappeared from Egypt before the sixth century, and there is no reason for supposing that it had at any time gained a footing in Arabia. Besides, there is not the slightest affinity between the supernaturalism of the Gnostics and Docetæ, and the sober rationalism of the Coran. According to the former, the Deity must be removed far from the

* See the quotation above from Sura IV, 155—158.

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gross contact of evil matter. The Æon Christ, which alighted upon Jesus at His baptism, must ascend to its native regions before the crucifixion. With Mahomet, on the contrary, Jesus was a mere man,—wonderfully born indeed,—but still an ordinary man, a simple servant of the Almighty as others had been before him.* Yet, although there is no ground for believing that Gnostic doctrines were inculcated on Mahomet, it is possible that some of the strange fancies of those heretics, preserved in Syrian tradition, may have come to the ears of his informants (the chief of whom, even on Christian topics, seem to have been Jews, and been by them adopted as a likely and convenient explanation of the facts which formed the great barrier between Jews) and Christians. The Israelite would have less antipathy to the Catholic faith of Islam and the recognition of the mission of Jesus, if allowed to believe, that Christians as well as Jews, had been in error, and that His people had not, in fact, put Jesus, the promised Messiah, to a shameful death: but that, like Enoch and Elijah, he had been received up into heaven. "Christ *crucified*" was still, as in the days of Paul, "the stumbling block of the Jews." But here the stumbling block was at once removed: and without any offence to his national pride, the Jew might confess his belief in this emasculated Christianity. It was a compromise that would readily and strongly approve itself to a Jewish mind already unsettled by the prophetic claims of Mahomet.

By others it has been attempted to trace the Christian stories of the Coran to certain apocryphal Gospels supposed to have been within the reach of Mahomet. But though some few of the details coincide with these spurious writings, the great body of the facts in no wise does so.† Whereas, had there been a ready access to such books, we cannot doubt that Mahomet would, as in the case of Jewish history and legend, have borrowed largely from them.

Gerock, after weighing every consideration, concludes that Mahomet acquired his knowledge from no written source, but from Christian tradition *current among the people of Arabia*:—

Am gerathensten möchte es daher wohl seyn, die Berichte

* This subject has been well discussed by Gerock, who shows the utter incongruity of Islam with Gnosticism, (*p.* 11.) "Der positive besonnene character des Islam ist den Gnostischen speculationen gänzlich zuwider." (*p.* 12.)

† *See Gerock*, *p.* 8. The "Gospel of Barnabas" is of course excepted, because it is the modern work of a Christian Apostate to Islam. "Aber es ist gewiss, dass dies Evangelium das Werk eines Betrügers ist, der erst lange nach Mohammed, vielleicht in Italian selbst, lebte, und sich bemühte, den Erzählungen does Koran und der Mohammedanischen Schriftsteller durch eine angeblich Christliche Unterlage mehr Ansehen und Glaubwürdigkeit zu verschaffen." (*p.* 9.)

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des Koran über den stifter der Christlichen Religion aus der Tradition zu erklären. Es scheint nämlich, das Mohammed seine Berichte über Christus und einige andere, unbedeutende Erzählungen aus der Christengeschichte weder aus schriftlichen quellen, als kanonischen oder apokryphischen evangelien, noch aus bestimmten mündlichen mittheilungen, sondern vornämlich aus einer in seinem Vaterlande umhergetragenen Volkstradition schöpfte.—*Page* 13.

As the sole source of information this appears to us insufficient. There is no ground for believing that either at Mecca or Medina there existed elements of Christian tradition from which could have been framed a narrative agreeing, as that of the Coran does, in many points, and even in several of its expressions, with the Gospels genuine and apocryphal, while in others it follows or outstrips the popular legend.

But tradition quite sufficient for this end survived in the southern confines of Syria, and no doubt reached Mahomet through both a Jewish and a Christian medium. The general outline of the Christian story in the Coran, having a few salient points in accordance with the Gospel, and the rest filled up with wild marvels, is just such as we might expect an enquiring Jew to learn from the traditions of the lower classes in Judea. The Christian slaves of Mecca, too, had generally been ravished from their homes in boyhood, and would remember little more than a few Scripture stories, with perhaps some fragments of the creed. Either the Jew or the Christian may also have heard the opening of the Gospel of Luke, and communicated to Mahomet the outline of the births of John and Jesus, which he transferred to the Coran. It is also *possible* that some one may have repeated to Mahomet from memory, or read from a manuscript, those verses of the Gospel ;—but this is a mere conjecture, and in itself improbable.*

Mahomet's confused nōtions of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost, seem most naturally to have been received through a Jewish informant, himself imperfectly acquainted with the subject.

It is not very apparent from the few indistinct notices in the Coran what Mahomet believed the Christian doctrine of the Trinity to be. In a passage above quoted, Christians are reprobated for " taking Jesus and his Mother for two Gods

* It is unlikely that any Arabic translation of the Scriptures, or any part of them, was ever within Mahomet's reach, notwithstanding the traditions regarding Waraca. *See Life of Mahomet from his Youth to his Fortieth Year, p.* 26. If there was such a translation it must have been most imperfect and fragmentary.

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besides the Lord."* It is hence concluded that the Trinity of the Coran was composed of the Father, Mary, and Jesus. Such may be the case, but it is not certain. Zealous Protestants sometimes use language resembling the verse just quoted, without imputing to their adversaries any error in their views of the Trinity. The reverence and service for Mary had long been carried to the pitch nearly of Divine worship, and the "orthodox" party had hotly persecuted those who would not accord to her the title of "the Mother of God."† Mahomet might therefore censure the Christians for "taking Jesus and his mother for two Gods," without adverting to the Trinity.

On the other hand, the only passage in which the Trinity is specifically mentioned,‡ makes no allusion to the divinity of the Spirit: nor are the expressions "the Spirit," and "the Holy Spirit," though occurring in numerous texts throughout the Coran, ever used as if in the errors of Christianity they signified a Person in the Trinity. The phrase, as we have seen in a former paper,§ commonly meant Gabriel, the messenger of God's revelations to Mahomet. And it is possible that a confusion, in the prophet's mind, of the Holy Ghost with Gabriel, may have arisen from the annunciation of the Saviour by the latter, while he is also stated to have been conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost.‖ The term is also repeatedly used in a more general sense as signifying *the Spirit of inspiration*.¶ It was the divine "Spirit" breathed into the clay, which gave life to Adam;** and Jesus, who like Adam, had no earthly father, is also "a Spirit from God" breathed into Mary.†† When it is said that God "*strengthened Jesus with the Holy Spirit*,"‡‡ we may perhaps trace the use of current Christian speech, not inconsistent with Jewish ideas.§§

The assurance with which Mahomet appeals to Jews and Christians as both professing in their Scriptures, the promise

* Sura IV., 169.

† Worship had been paid even to images of the Virgin and of Jesus from the 4th century. In the 6th century Gregory vainly endeavoured to prohibit the *worship*, while he encouraged the *use* of such images.—*See Waddington's History of the Church, Vol. I., p.* 295.

‡ *Sura V.*, 109.

‖ *Luke i.* 35.

** *Sura XV.*, 29

§ *Extension of Islam.*, *p.* 23.

¶ *Sura XVI.*, 2; *XL.*, 16; *XLII.*, 52.

†† *Sura XXI.*, 91; *LXVI.*, 13; *IV.*, 169.

‡‡ *Sura II.*, 87, 254; *V.*, 119. So *LVIII.*, 22. See also other passages quote in the note at page 23 of *the Extension of Islam.*

§§ Compare Psalm LI., 12; "Uphold me with thy free Spirit." Gerock, thoug not alluding to the same expression, comes to a similar conclusion: "Das der heilige Geist der Christen dem Mohammed hier dunkel vorsich web'e, ist einleuchtend besonders wenn wie bedenken, wir derselbe in dem Besuche bei Maria mit Gabriel in eine Person verschmilzt." (*p.* 79.)

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of a prophet to come; whom, if they only put aside their prejudices, they would recognize in Mahomet, "as they recognized their own sons," is very singular, and must have been supported by ignorant or designing men of both religions. It would seem that Mahomet seized upon two kinds of expectation of the most different and indeed incompatible character, and adroitly combined them into a cumulative proof of his own Mission. The Jewish anticipation of a Messiah was fused by Mahomet, together with the utterly discordant anticipation by the Christians of the second Advent of Christ, into one irrefragable argument of a coming prophet, expected both by Jews and Christians, and foretold in all the Scriptures.

That the promise of the Paraclete was capable of perversion, we see in the heresy of Montanus, which made much progress at the close of the second century. It would seem that a garbled version of the same promise was communicated to Mahomet, and thus employed by him :—

> And call to mind when JESUS, Son of MARY said;—Oh Children of Israel! Verily, I am an Apostle of God unto you, attesting the Towrât revealed before me, and giving good tidings of a prophet that shall come after me, whose name is AHMAD.*

The prophecy of Moses to the Israelites :—"God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, *of thy brethren*, like unto me,"† may plausibly enough have been adduced by a perverted Jew in favour of the Arabian Prophet.

That he was the Prophet promised to both people, lay at the root of the Catholic system so strongly inculcated by Mahomet in his middle stage; and there is no reason to doubt that the assumption was implicitly believed by himself.

From this review it appears to be highly probable, that Mahomet gained his chief knowledge of Christianity by the same Jewish medium, through which, at an earlier period, his more copious information of Jewish history reached him. His Meccan adversaries did not conceal their strong suspicion that the prompting from which the Scriptural or legendary tales proceeded, was not solely that of a supernatural inspiration. They openly imputed the aid of strangers :—

> From whence shall there be an admonition for them; for, verily, there hath come unto them an evident Apostle:
> Then they turn from him and say,—*One taught by others, a madman* ‡.

* Sura LXI., 6. This is another form of the root *Muhammed*, signifying like it, "the Praised." See John xvi., 7, where παρακλητος may have been rendered περικλυτοε.

† *Dieut.* xviii, 15.

‡ *Sura XLIV.*, 14.

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And the unbelievers say; *Verily, this is a Fraud which he hath fabricated; and other people have assisted him therein.* But they say that which is unjust and false.
They say; *They are Fables of the Ancients which he hath had written down; which are dictated unto him Morning and Evening.**
Say:—HE hath revealed it who knoweth that which is hidden in Heaven and in Earth. He is forgiving and merciful.†

* * * * * * * * *

And verily WE know that they say,—*surely a certain man teacheth him.* The tongue of him whom they hint at is foreign, but this is in the tongue of simple Arabic‡

Whatever the rough material, its passage through the alembic of "simple Arabic" converted it at once into a gem of unearthly water. The recitations of a credulous and ill-informed Jew, re-appeared as the inspirations of the Almighty, dictated by the noblest of his heavenly messengers. The wild legend and the garbled Scripture story of yesterday, come forth to-morrow as a portion of the divine and eternal Coran!

And, however strange it may appear, the heavenly origin of his revelations, obtained though they were from such a fallible and imperfect source, was sincerely believed by Mahomet himself. It would be against the analogy of his whole life, to suppose that there was here a *conscious* fraud. Occasional doubts and misgivings, especially when he first submitted to Jewish prompting, there may have been, but a process similar to that by which he first assured himself of his own inspiration, would quickly banish them.

But the ignorance which covered so strange a deception in his early prophetical life, cannot be pleaded for his later years. The means of reaching a truer knowledge lay plentifully now within his reach. But they were not heeded, or rather were absolutely rejected, because a position had been taken up from which he could not with credit or consistency recede. Was not his own inspiration as sure as the recorded revelations of preceding prophets; was it not far more authoritative than the uncertain doctrines deduced from them by their erring adherents? Ignorance thus became wilful. Light was at hand; but Mahomet preferred darkness. He chose to walk "in the glimmerings of his own fire, and in the sparks which he had kindled."

The connexion of Christianity with Islam has led us to

* Abdool Câdir translates, "*which are written out beside him morning and evening*;" and thinks it necessary to add the following explanatory note:—"At first the times of prayer were appointed for the morning and evening. The Moslems used at those time to gather about the prophet. Whatever new passages of the Coran had descended they used to write down with the object of remembering them. The unbelievers thus misrepresented them."

† *Sura XXV*, 5, 6. ‡ *Sura XVI.*, 103.

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follow the system of Mahomet to its full development at Medina. But our review of his life has reached only to his flight from Mecca; and before dismissing that portion of his career, it is proper to enquire at this point what his general teaching was, and what had been its effects.

The Coran still continues* to be made up, as before, of arguments in refutation of idolatry and the idle objections of the Meccan people; of the proofs of God's Omnipotence, Omniscience and Unity; of the vivid picturings of the Judgment, Heaven, and Hell; and of legendary and Scriptural stories. The great verities of a minute and Over-ruling Providence, and of a final Retribution, are sometimes illustrated by passages of exquisite imagery and living poetry. The bold impersonation of THUNDER, in the following quotation (which may be taken as a sample of the better portions of this period,) has given its name to the Sura from which it is taken;—

Verily God changeth not His dealing with a People, until they change that which is in their Souls. And when God willeth Evil unto a People, there is none that can turn it away, nor have they any Protector beside them.

It is He that showeth you the Lightning to inspire Fear and Hope; and raised the heavy clouds.

The THUNDER doth celebrate His praise, and the Angels also, from awe of Him. And He sendeth forth His Bolts and shivereth therewith whom He pleaseth, while they are wrangling about God: for He is terrible in might!

He only is rightly invoked. And those whom they invoke beside Him answer them not at all, otherwise than as one stretching forth both hands unto the Water that it may reach his mouth, and it reacheth it not. So is the invocation of the unbelievers founded only in error.

And to God boweth down in worship whatsoever is in the Heavens, and in the Earth voluntarily and by force, and their Shadows likewise in the morning and in the evening.†

Say;—Who is the Lord of the Heavens and of the Earth: Say—GOD. Say: Wherefore, then, do ye take besides Him guardians who have no power to do their own selves a benefit nor an injury. Say:—What! Are the Blind and the Seeing equal? What! is the Darkness equal with the

* The Suras of this period (*i. e.*, from the 10th year of the Mission to the Hegira) may be approximately classed as follows; 63 (in chronological order) LI.; 64, XLVI; 65, LXXII.; 66, XXXV.; 67, XXXVI.; 68, XIX.; 69, XVIII; 70, XXVII.; 71, XLII.; 72, XL.; 73, XXXVIII.; 74, XXV.; 75, XX.; 76, XLIII.; 77, XII.; 78, XI.; 79, X.; 80, XIV.; 81, VI.; 82, LXIV.; 83, XXVIII.; 84, XXIII.; 85, XXII.; 86, XXI.; 87, XVII.; 88, XVI.; 89, XIII.; 90, XXIX.; 91, VII. The Suras at the close of this list become some of them very long, and include portions given forth at Medina, and added to them there. One striking feature of the closing Meccan Suras is the frequent allusion to the approaching emigration of himself and his followers.

† This a conceit Mahomet is fond of: the shadows perform obeisance to God, being long and prostrate in the morning, rising during the day, and again elongating in prostration in the evening.

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Light? Or do they give partners unto God that have created like unto His creation so that the creation (of both) appear alike in their eyes? Say:—God is the creator of all things. He is THE ONE; the AVENGER!

He bringeth down from on high the Rain, and the Valleys flow, each according to its measures: and the Flood beateth the swelling Froth. And from that which men melt in the furnace, to make ornaments or vessels, ariseth a Scum, the like thereof. Thus doth God compare the Truth with Falsehood. As for the SCUM it passeth away like Froth: but that which benefiteth mankind remaineth on the Earth.

Thus doth God put forth Similitudes.*

The positive precepts of this period are still very limited. The five times of prayer, it is said, were imposed by God on the prophet's ascent to heaven, one or two years before the Hegira.† All kinds of flesh were permitted for food, *if killed in the name of the Lord*,‡ but the blood, and that which dieth of itself, and the flesh of swine, were strictly prohibited §

While a few superstitions, by which the meat of animals was under certain circumstances held by the Arabs to be unlawful,‖ were denounced, and the practice of compassing the holy temple naked was proscribed as the device of Satan,¶ the rites of Meccan pilgrimage were maintained: and enjoined as of divine command and propitious to true piety. It is probable that the Jews strongly objected to this new feature of the Reformed Faith, and we accordingly find a laboured defence of

* *Sura XIII.*, 13—19.

† As yet, however, the five periods are nowhere distinctly commanded in the Coran. The nearest approach to such command is the following:—"Wherefore patiently bear with what they say, and celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the rising of the Sun, and before its setting: and praise Him sometime in the night and in the extremities of the day, that thou mayest be pleasing unto him." *Sura XX.*, 129. By *the extremities of the day*, is naturally understood the fall of day, and day-break. But some—to reconcile the passage with the prescribed hours,—interpret it as signifying *mid-day*, at which as it were the day is divided into two parts.

‡ The same motives led to this condition as to the Apostolical admonition to abstain from "pollutions of Idols," and "meats offered to Idols." (*Acts* XV., 20, 29.) The prohibition seems to point to the heathenish practice of the Meccans slaying their animals as a sacrifice to, or in the name of their Deities. *Suras XVI.*, 115; *VI.*, 118, 121, 145.

§ References as above. The influence of Jewish habit and precept is here manifest. As to the references in the *later* Suras, it is to be remembered, that they were composed close upon the Hegira, and the habit now began of throwing into a former Sura passages connected with its subject. It is possible therefore that some of what we quote as Meccan, may have been in reality early Medina verses given forth after the emigration.

‖ See Sura V., 112, where the names of the forbidden animals are quoted. VI., 136, 144; X., 59. See also the note at page 24 of the *Fore-fathers of Mahomet*.

¶ Sura VII., 27-23. This was connected with the Homs: see *Fore-fathers of Mahomet, page* 20.

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the innovation which it may be interesting to place before the reader

And call to remembrance when WE gave to Abraham the place of the Temple (at Mecca); saying, join not in worship anything with me, and purify my house for them that compass it, and for them that stand up and bow down to pray.

And proclaim unto mankind a pilgrimage, that they may come unto thee on foot, upon every lean camel,* flocking from every distant road:—that they may testify to the benefits they have received, and commemorate the name of God on the appointed days upon the brute beasts which WE have given them for a provision:—Wherefore eat thereof and feed the wretched and the poor. Then let them stop the neglect of their persons, and fulfil their vows, and compass the ancient house.

This do. And he that honoureth the sacred ordinances of God† it is well for him with his Lord. The flesh of cattle is lawful unto you excepting that which hath been read unto you. Wherefore abstain from the pollutions of idols, and abstain from the false speech: following the Catholic faith unto God, not associating any with Him; for he that associateth any with God is like that which falleth from the Heavens, and the birds snatch it away, and the wind bloweth it into a distant place.

Hearken to this: whosoever honoureth the Sacrifices of God,‡ verily they proceed from purity of heart. From them (the victims) ye derive benefits until the appointed time: then they are brought for sacrifice unto the ancient House.

And unto every people have WE appointod rites, that they may commemorate the name of GOD over the brute beasts He hath provided for them. And your GOD is one God; wherefore submit yourself unto Him and bear good tidings unto the Humble:—

Those whose hearts, when God is mentioned, tremble thereat:—and unto those that patiently bear what befalleth them and observe prayer, and spend in alms of that We have provided them with.

And the victims§ have WE made unto you as ordinances‖ of God. From them ye receive benefit. Commemorate therefore the name of God over them as they stand disposed in a line, and when they fall slain upon their sides, eat thereof, and give unto the Poor both him that is silent and him that beggeth. Thus have WE given thee dominion over them that ye may be thankful.

Their Flesh is not accepted of God, nor yet their Blood: but your Piety is accepted of Him.

Few and simple as the positive precepts of Mahomet up to this time were, they had wrought a marvellous and a mighty work. Never since the days when primitive Christianity startled the world from its sleep and waged moral strife with

* Lean and famished from the long journey.

† شعائر الله *rites or offerings*; but from what follows, *victims* would seem to be here meant.

‡ The word signifies *camels* offered in sacrifice البدن

§ Or *signs, symbols.* It is the same word as before. شعائر

‖ *Sura XXII.*, 27—40.

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Heathenism, had men seen the like arousing of spiritual life,—the like faith that suffered sacrifice and took joyfully the spoiling of goods for conscience sake.

From time beyond memory, Mecca, and the whole Peninsula had been steeped in spiritual torpor. The slight and transient influences of Judaism, Christianity, or Philosophy, upon the Arab mind, had been but as the ruffling here and there of the surface of a quiet lake;—all still and motionless below. The people were sunk in superstition, cruelty, and vice. It was a common practice for the eldest son to marry his father's widows inherited with the rest of the estate.* Pride and poverty had introduced among them, as among the Hindus, the crime of female infanticide.† Their religion consisted in gross idolatry, and their faith was rather the dark superstitious dread of unseen beings, whose good will they sought to propitiate and their displeasure to avert, than the belief in a God of Providence. The life to come, and retribution of good and evil, were as motives of action, practically unknown.

Thirteen years before the Hegira, Mecca lay lifeless in this debased state. What a change had those thirteen years now produced! A band of several hundred persons had rejected idolatry, adopted the worship of the one great God, and surrendered themselves implicitly to the guidance of what they believed a revelation from Him;—praying to God with frequency and fervency, looking for pardon through His mercy, and striving after good works, alms-giving, chastity and justice. They now lived under a constant sense of the Almighty Power of God, and of His providential care over the minutest of their concerns. In all the gifts of nature, in every relation of life, at each turn of their affairs, individual or public, they saw His hand. And, above all, the new spiritual existence in which they joyed and gloried, was regarded as the mark of His especial grace: while the unbelief of their blinded fellow-citizens was the hardening stamp of His predestined reprobation. Mahomet was the minister of life to them:—the source under God of their new-born hopes; and to him they yielded a fitting and implicit submission.

In the short period, Mecca had, from this wonderful move-

* See an instance of this practice ("such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles," I Cor. v. i.) in the 2nd note, page 27, of *the Life of Mahomet to his Fortieth Year.*

† This custom Mahomet stringently proscribed, Sura VI., 137, 140, 151, and it disappeared with the progress of Islam.

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ment, been torn into two factions, which, unmindful of the old land-marks of tribe and family, were arrayed in deadly opposition one against the other. The believers bore persecution with a patient and a tolerant spirit. And, though it was their wisdom so to do, the credit of a magnanimous forbearance may be freely accorded to them. One hundred men and women, rather than abjure their precious faith, had abandoned their homes, and sought refuge, till the storm should be overpast, in Abyssinian exile. And now, again, even a larger number, with the prophet himself, emigrated from their fondly loved city, with its sacred temple, to them the holiest spot on earth, and fled to Medina. There the same wonder-working charm had, within two or three years, prepared for them a brotherhood ready to defend the prophet and his followers with their blood. Jewish truth had long sounded in the ears of the men of Medina, but it was not till they heard the spirit-stirring strains of the Arabian prophet, that they too awoke from their slumber, and sprang suddenly into a new and earnest life.

We shall leave Mahomet to describe his people of this period in his own words :—

The servants of the Merciful are they that walk upon the earth softly, and when the ignorant speak unto them, they reply *Peace!*

They that spend the night worshipping their Lord, prostrate and standing ;—

And that say,—Oh, our Lord! Turn away from us the torment of Hell: verily, from the torment thereof there is no release. Surely it is an evil abode and resting-place!

Those that when they spend are neither profuse nor niggardly, but take a middle course ;—

Those that invoke not with God any other God ; and slay not a soul that God hath forbidden, otherwise than by right ; and commit not Fornication,

For he who doeth that is involved in sin,—

His torment shall be doubled unto him in the day of judgment : therein ignominiously shall he remain for ever,

Excepting him that shall repent and believe and perform righteous works ; as for them God shall change their evil things into good things ; and God is forgiving and merciful.

And whoever repenteth and doeth good works, verily, he turneth unto God with a true repentance.—

They who bear not witness to that which is false ; and when they pass by vain sport, they pass by with dignity :—

They who, when admonished by the revelations of the Lord, fall not thereupon down as if deaf and blind ;—

That say, Oh, our Lord. Grant us of our wives and children such as shall be a comfort unto us, and make us examples unto the pious!

These shall be rewarded with lofty mansions (in Paradise,) for that they persevered, and shall be accosted therein with welcome and salutation :

For ever therein :—a fair Abode and Resting-place!

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When we speak, however, with praise of the virtues of the early Mussulmans, it is only in comparison with the state and habits of their heathen countrymen. Neither their tenets nor their practice will in any respect bear competition with Christian, or even with Jewish, morality. This is plentifully illustrated by the practical working of the system, when shortly after, at Medina, it had a free field for natural development.

For instance, we call the Moslems chaste because they abstained from indiscriminate profligacy, and kept carefully within the bounds prescribed as licit by their prophet. But those bounds, besides the utmost freedom of divorce and change of *wives*, admitted an illimitable license of cohabitation with "all that the right hand of the believer might possess," or in other words, with any possible number of damsels he might choose to purchase, to receive in gift, or to ravish in war.

The facility of divorce at this period, (when even the easy check of three intervening months before the re-marriage of the divorced female was not imposed,) may be illustrated by the following incident. Abd al Rahmân, son of Awf, on his first reaching Medina, was lodged by Sád, son of Rabî, a Medina convert to whom Mahomet had united him in brotherhood.* As they sat at meat Sâd thus addressed his guest:—"My brother! I have abundance of wealth: I will divide with thee a portion thereof. And behold my two wives! Choose which of them thou likest best, and I will divorce her that thou mayest take her to thyself to wife." And Abd al Rahmân replied;—"The Lord bless thee my brother in thy family and in thy property!" So he married one of the wives of Sâd.†

At the opening scene of the prophetical life of Mahomet, we ventured to fetch an illustration of his position from the

* This refers to the arrangement made by Mahomet on his first reaching Medina according to which each Emigrant was specially joined in close brotherhood with one of the Medina converts.

† After this brotherly mark of affection, Abd al Rahmân said, "My brother take me on the morrow to the market place." So they went and Abd al Rahmân traded, and returned with a bag of butter and cheese which he had made by the traffic. And Mahomet met him in one of the streets of Medina with the saffron clothes of nuptial attire upon him, and he said, "How is this?" And Abd al Rahmân replied, "I have married me a wife from amongst the Adjutors." "For what dower?" "For a piece of gold of the size of a date stone." "And why" replied Mahomet, "rest with a goat?" *Wackidi, pp.* 202½, 203, 282.

The above is intended by the traditionists to illustrate the poverty of Abd al

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temptation of our Saviour. The parallel between the founders of Christianity and Islam might be continued to the Flight of Mahomet, but there it must stop; for it is the only point at all corresponding with the close of Christ's ministry. Beyond that term, in the life of Rule, of Rapine, and Indulgence, led by Mahomet at Medina, there is absolutely no feature whatever common with the course of Jesus.

During the periods above indicated as possible for comparison, persecution and rejection were the fate of both. But the thirteen years' ministry of Mahomet had brought about a far greater change to the external eye, than the whole of Christ. The apostles fled at the first sound of danger; and however deep the inner work may have been in the 500 by whom our Lord was seen, it had produced as yet but outward action. There was amongst them no spontaneous quitting of their homes, nor emigration by hundreds, such as characterized the early Moslems; nor any rapturous resolution by the converts of a foreign city to defend the prophet with their blood.

This is partly owing to the different state of the two people among whom respectively Jesus and Mahomet ministered:—Jesus amongst Jews, whose law he came not to destroy but to fulfil, and in whose *outer* life therefore there was no marked change to be effected:—Mahomet amongst a nation of idolators sunk in darkness and vice, whose whole system must be overturned, and from the midst of whom converts, to exhibit any consistency whatever, must go forth with a bold and distinctive separation.

There was, too, a material difference of aim and teaching.

Rahmân when he reached Medina as contrasted with the vast wealth subsequently amassed by him. "At his death he left gold in such quantities, that it was cut with hatchets till the people's hands bled." He had 1,000 camels, 3,000 sheep and 100 horses. He had issue by *sixteen* wives, besides children of concubines. One of the former was Tamadhir, the daughter of a Christian Chieftain whom he married at Mahomet's bidding, and who bore to him Abdallah (Abu Salma) the famous traditionist. As one of his four widows, she inherited 1,00,000 dinars.

Abd al Rahmân was penurious. Mahomet said to him "Oh son of Awf! Verily thou art amongst the rich, and thou shalt not enter Paradise but with great difficulty. Lend therefore to thy Lord, so as He may loosen thy steps." And he departed by Mahomet's advice to give away all his property. But the prophet sent for him again, and told him by Gabriel's desire that it would suffice if he used hospitality and gave alms.

It will be a curious and useful task to trace the multitude of wives and concubines, and the vast wealth of the chief leaders of early Islam, as illustrating its gross and earthly spirit even in its next day and at the fountain head.

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The spiritual system of Jesus was essentially incompatible with worldly means and motives. His people, *as such*, though in the world, were not "of the world." The idea of his followers making him a king, or the citizens of another country being invited to receive him and support his cause by arms, would have been at direct variance with the whole spirit and principles of Jesus. And it was this spirituality of aim and agency, to the entire exclusion of earthly aids, that chiefly tended to produce the great difference in apparent progress.

The reason for Mahomet's toleration of his Meccan opponents was present weakness only. While patience *for awhile* is inculcated by God on Mahomet and his followers, the future breathes all of revenge and victory. It is true that in the Coran, the instruments are yet hidden,—known to God alone. But not the less are the enemies of the prophet to be overthrown and perish; and that with a *material* destruction, like the flood and flames of Sodom and Gomorrha. Human agency was moreover diligently sought after. The tribes as they came up to the yearly solemnities of Mecca, are one by one canvassed and exhorted to rally round "the cause of God and His prophet;" the chiefs of Tayif are tempted by the prospect of sovereignty over the rival city and temple; and at last, when all nearer aid is despaired of, the converts of Medina are bound by an oath of fealty to defend the prophet with the same courage and weapons as their wives and children.

It might easily be foreseen from the first rise of opposition, (and the prospect had its full effect upon the Arab,) that arms and warfare, with all their attractive accompaniments of revenge and predatory raids, would decide the struggle.

It was, we believe, with the full anticipation of such a struggle (for he was not long at Medina before taking the initiative,) that Mahomet, alarmed by the council of the Coreish, hid himself in the cave, and fled from Mecca. Compare with this, if indeed there be any common ground of comparison, the peaceful and sublime serenity with which Jesus calmly awaited the diabolical machinations of the Jewish council. Contrast further with the sword about to be unsheathed by Mahomet, the grand principle for the propagation of his faith pronounced by Jesus before his heathen judge:—"My kingdom is not of this world; if My kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is My kingdom not from hence."

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Having now sketched the Life of Mahomet to the point of his quitting Mecca, it is not our intention to prosecute the subject further for the present.

The opportunity is appropriate of apologizing to the readers of this Review for the unwonted course of publishing in its pages, and in a disjointed form unfavourable to the subject itself,—the results of *original* research. For the abundant forbearance experienced, notwithstanding the unusual, and, for the general reader, often uninteresting, character of some of the articles, the writer feels bound to express his acknowledgments. He indulges a hope that these articles may perhaps tend in some degree to clear away the obscurity and misapprehension which envelope the infant days of a religion, second in importance to Christianity alone.

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ART. II.—*Reports, with Proceedings and Appendix, of the Committee appointed by Government to enquire into the state of the River Hooghly.—Calcutta.* 1854.

THE following "Pilot's log" needs little apology from us. As a *Review* our aim has ever been, not merely to notice literary works that are written in India, or have some connexion with it, but from all legitimate quarters to collect information regarding it, and every subject connected with it, that may seem to be of interest to those who have its welfare at heart. There are many classes of men, as well as individual characters, that have been necessarily overlooked by those who have viewed India as a whole, or have written regarding it. These abound more than the reader would suppose, and their history and knowledge, if recorded for the benefit of future generations, would excite no little interest and amusement. Men are continually met with, who have amassed a fund of experience and knowledge on special subjects; and when that is recorded with all the natural humour, shrewd common-sense and charming *naïvete* that such often possess, it becomes a "curiosity of literature" as well as a source of accurate information. We give the following almost exactly as it proceeded from the "Pilot's" pen:

The world is evidently one of change, every thing proves it. The Madrasees are petitioning to have the Queen's Government. The Quihyes are tired of the Hooghly; they wish to remove to the Mutlah. The Hooghly is too tame on its shores, too shallow on its bed, and too boisterous on its surface for the present generation, while the Mutlah is declared to run both smooth and deep. The Pilots alone state its entrance to be fraught with difficulties and hidden dangers. They are considered prejudiced men, their toils through sunny days and rainy nights go for nothing—no, they stick to the Hooghly with the tenacity with which children hold on to their mothers, they are not to be heard. A steam Commander may say he finds smooth water in the north part of the bay, he will be credited. If a Pilot says he has seen a ship's long boat stove in by a heavy sea falling on board the ship, in the vicinity of the Mutlah, that will be prejudice—and, really, I think the public have a right to say so, for look at the Service; not one of its Members has ever been trusted to be a governing officer over his own service, as a superior, or as a subordinate. The Presidents of Preliminary Courts, or Committees for examining Pilots for the Service, or for steamers, cannot be Pilots, they must be exotics,

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or out siders. Here the Doctor of Divinity must be the decider of the qualifications of the Doctor of Law, or of the Doctor of Physic. Cannot some case be shown where the public have suffered from the want of a practical man being admitted to have voice in such things? I will step back over an æra of thirty-three years, and fix on the Committee that was chosen, comprising Commodore Hayes and others, to select a site for a light-house. They chose Myaparah Island, a shifting sand bank, for the Palmira Light, against the opinion of practical men. The Light-house was founded in 1822, on sand, and stood as a monument of folly for a few years. For when the light was seen from a ship coming up False Bay, it was a false guide, for the ship had to be hauled out of sight of it as fast as possible to clear the reef off Point Palmira. The island on which this Light-house was erected was breached by the sea, and down came what had never any right to have been built up, for while the light was shown there, it was burning under a bushel. Commodore Hayes went in the *Asseerghur* Pilot Vessel to see the first of this light, and, doubtless, pronounced it to be good: so it was—for nothing.

It is my intention to run over the remarkable incidents that have transpired in the Pilot Service since the erection of Myaparah Light-house. I therefore cannot quietly pass over the memorable year of 1823, without bearing testimony to its terrible May hurricane, so destructive to the Pilots and the Pilot Brigs. The *Flora* lost her fore-mast, the *Guide* damaged the head of her rudder, and the *Asseerghur* lost jib-boom, fore-top-mast, and main-top-gallant, cut her cable and drifted to sea. Mr. Carter, Pilot of the Outer-Light Vessel *Torch*, was washed overboard and drowned. Three vessels, lying at anchor in Saugor Roads, dragged from their anchors. The Ship *Liverpool*, Captain Green, Messrs. Fowler and Hodges, Pilot and Leadsman, continued driving until she grounded on the spit of the long sand near to Lloyd's Channel, where she went to pieces, and the already mentioned persons and the greater portion of her crew met a watery grave. The Ship *Orrickabessey*, Messrs. Macdormand and Joseph Wells, Pilot and Leadsman, drifted on to Fisherman's Flat, above Lloyd's Channel; she went to pieces, but all hands were saved. The Brig *Helen*, Mr. Baxter, Pilot, also suffered. When he found the brig would not hold on at her anchors, he slipped from them, and beached her near to Kedgeree, where he landed in a novel uniform,—a birth-day suit, surmounted with a gold watch which he had fastened round his person with a rope yarn. Two days after the gale, the remaining portion of the *Liverpool's* crew were observed from the Pilot

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Vessel *Hattrass*, Mr. Branch Pilot Keymer, Commander, hanging to the wreck, to which they had adhered from the time of the *Liverpool's* breaking up. He sent the *Hattrass* boat, and relieved them from their perilous position. They had been hanging to the wreck from the time of their ship's grounding. This year was as remarkable for the strength of its freshes in the river as for its gale—no fresh has ever come up to it since. I do not think I am going beyond the mark, when I say the current ran down ten knots per hour for one day. The Pilot Vessel *Flora* went to the assistance of the Ship *Emulous*, aground on the bank in Hog River. A row-boat went from the *Emulous* to the *Flora*, from whence a rope was cast into the boat, but no sooner did the rope check the row-boat, than it turned keel up, and every one of the boat's crew mounted on the bottom of the boat. I have heard a Pilot say, that he dropped a ship in that fresh from Calcutta to Fultah in one day, and with no lessthan twenty-five fathoms of chain out to the anchor—the whole of the drop; since then no such thing has ever been done in any fresh since the embankments of the Damoodah river burst and inundated the country. The Ship *Atlas*, while lying in the Hooghly, in this fresh off the Sister Trees of Royapore Reach, in a sheer at night, carried away her stern, and in the attempt to put her on the beach in a sinking state, she ran up Hog River Creek, where she remained until raised and brought to Calcutta by Mr. Breen. He accomplished it in the following manner: he had large holes cut over the lower deck of the *Atlas*, through and through her; he then had long stout timbers pushed through these holes, allowing the ends of the timbers to protrude through on each side of the vessel; under these sticking-out timber ends he secured large empty vessels. These raised the *Altas* from the bed of the creek, and kept her afloat till she reached Calcutta. The Ship *Ajax* was lying in Garden Reach for five weeks and not able to proceed to Calcutta, the current being so strong against her. The Barque *Swallow*, in coming up the Hooghly, under pilotage directions of Mr. Lindquist, struck on the Muckruputty Lump, and sunk as she was being run on the beach.

This year also the Burmese War commenced. The *Sophia*, Pilot Brig, Mr. Chew, Branch Pilot, Commander, went down to Teak Naaf, early in 1824. Messrs. Chew and Royce went on shore at Teak Naaf from the *Sophia*, and were captured and marched to Arracan as prisoners. The Burmese commenced the War with vigour. A large list of volunteers forming the corps of the Pilot Service were permitted to join gun-boats and other armed vessels. The

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Burmese surprised our encampment at Rammoo and cut it off. The Commandant of Chittagong became alarmed for our frontier. The Bengal Government speedily engaged vessels, and as quickly officered them. I think my memory serves me right, when I say Mr. Cairns received his order to take command of Mr. Ploughdon's yacht *Sophia* in Church on Sunday! Mr. Twisden was ordered to the command of Mr. Phipp's Brig *Helen*, and Mr. Walter Warden, to assume command of the Pilot Vessel *Asseerghur*—all these vessels being put on war duty. A flat-bottomed boat, used either as a lighter for the Mint, for conveying machinery, or else for freeing Kidderpore dock gates of mud, was honoured by receiving a steam engine, where it is believed mud before had held a place. She was decked over, and dubbed the steamer "*Pluto*." A speedily finished concern she was, but that was the only speed attached to her career, for she ever moved like a fly entrapped in a tar barrel—the zero of all steamers.

From the beginning of 1823 to the end of 1824, two years—no less than twenty-five vacancies occurred in the Pilot Service. About that time the garb-brig *Bombay Merchant* was lost while under pilot charge of Mr. Wm. Wells; she parted from her anchorage in a westerly blow from the back of the middle ground abreast of the Gasper chur. Mr. Wells and all hands perished. The Ship *Padang* was the first ship that had a steamer ahead of her in the Hoogly. A Brig went down from under Mr. Hand in the south channel, all hands, excepting the Captain's wife, being saved on a raft which drifted to Balasore; three days after they had left the brig, the Captain's wife went down with her.

In 1825 an increase of work was given to the Pilots—their energies being divided between civil employment and naval engagements, piloting ships and fighting Burmese. The Hooghly was honoured this year by the arrival of the steam vessel *Enterprise*, the first steamer from England via the Cape. Her Commander drew a portion of the premium for having brought the first vessel by steam from England to Calcutta.

Commodore Hayse, with his fleet in Arracan river, was attacked from an entrenched embankment at Shamballah; he did not carry that point, but dropped back and awaited the arrival of the troops. The Ship *Louis* was lost on Saugor Sand, and the *Stanmore*, when lying ready for sea off Cooly Bazar, was destroyed by fire. During this year one of the Members of the Service rendered himself conspicuous at the seat of war, doing the onerous and amphibious duties of standing to sea to bring stray ships into Kaauree, and rushing on shore to attack

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the enemy. A servant of all work, he hoisted a flag in Ramree Creek, where he had a staff station. In 1826 the Burmese War became a thing of history, and the Members of the Pilot Service were remanded to their original duty. The war had given Mr. Thomas Waghorne a distaste for tame piloting—he was seized with the steam mania via the Cape, but his passage to England or his sojourn there altered his views, for he came out strong on the route via Suez and the desert. Mr. Lindquist made interest to retain his steam command, so the Pilots benefitted by the Burmese War to the extent of two steps, prize money, and latterly a medal. The Ship *East Indian* had been anchored at sunset off the Spit Buoy. She parted her cable at night, sail was set on her, and the attempt made to beat her to windward, but she grounded on Saugor Sand and went to pieces. The Pilot and crew left her in boats. The Chief Officer's boat was capsized, while those who gained the shore landed on Edmonstone's Island. He had his back nearly roasted by the sun while swimming for the shore. He had been capsized before from a boat at Cheduba, and was many hours in the water before he was picked up.

The French Ship *Pacific*, under pilotage charge of Mr. Fabian, parted her cable in the Gasper Channel, and drifted on shore in the entrance of Pagoda Creek off Saugor Island, and went to pieces. There is an island further seaward than Saugor Island; it is called Edmonstone's Island. Formerly it had one of the junior Officers of the Pilot Service stationed on it, to conduct all vessels to the Outer Light Station that strayed up Lacam's Channel. One of these Governors, during his residence on the island, was seized by an excruciating tooth-ache, which grew so unbearable, that he thought himself justified to resort to any means, however desperate, to rid himself of pain and tooth together. Necessity is the mother of invention—doubtless, the shooting pain was the father of it in this case, for our friend with the tooth-ache determined on an extraordinary plan to shoot clear of his troubles. He took a fowling piece, split a bullet half through, loaded the gun and primed it, to the trigger of which he had tied a loop of a twine, took the middle of a piece of twine and fastened it to his tooth, which was an isolated one, and of the lower jaw. He then, to keep the two parts of the twine on an equal strain, twisted one part round the other, then he brought the ends of this twine into the split in the bullet, beat the bullet together with the ends of the twine in it, lowered the bullet into the fowling piece, elevated the fire arm to forty degrees, slightly bent his body forward, opened his mouth till his lower jaw grew rigid,

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inserted his foot into the loop on the trigger, and kicked back. No time for suspense, off went the bullet, away went the tooth, doubtless making many gyrations in the air, each trying to get to their destination first. The tooth carried as much gum as would stick it anywhere, for it left a bare jaw to lament its loss, throwing its late owner into a state of mental anxiety, doubting whether he would not starve before he could again be able to masticate.

The Ship *Princess Charlotte* was lost in winding her way into Lloyd's Channel. She struck on the mizen above the entrance of the channel and came off in pieces; the hands were saved. The *Irrawaddy* and *Ganges*, the first sea-going steamers built for the Company, were launched. In 1828 the opium clippers commenced running; the Brig *Louisa*, Capt. Clifton, late of the *Atlas*, that ran up Hog River Creek, being the first fairly to start this trade. The Ship *Rohomany* was lost in the Mud Point Channel—hands saved. At this time the Up-country Steam Transit was opened by the Government, and two or three of the Pilot Service engaged at the starting; the Up-country Steamer *Berhampooter* was launched, and Mr. Code's boat, the *Experiment*, engaged on this first expedition. Messrs. Reid, Phillip, Wall and S. Ransom were the persons taken from the Service to establish the Transit in 1828. The *Forbes*, the first Calcutta Steam Tug, was launched from Howrah in the same year; she towed the *Louisa*, the first Opium Clipper, to her last end, in attempting to tug her through Lloyd's Channel at night. The *Forbes* grounded on the mizen, the *Louisa* drawing less water ran into the *Forbes*, the anchor went down, and it was supposed the *Louisa* set upon her own anchor, for there she sank to rise—but by piece-meal.

In the year 1809 the Pilot Service was established on its present footing. In 1829 a dissatisfied spirit grew up among the Junior Members of the Service, they thinking that they were too severely tasked for the pay they received. They determined to force the Government into the knowledge of their value, or else to compel them to put up the shutters of the piloting-shop. This I believe to have been the purport of the A. Z. Crooked Lane Committee, for the address to the Service ran thus: "The Pilot Service has come to such a pass that something must be done." The Second Mates and elder Volunteers bound themselves down to bring no vessels higher up the river than Kedgeree, but there were recusant members to this scheme, perhaps some doubting whether this did not infringe against the oath they had taken to serve the Government faithfully, and not thinking themselves free to dictate terms to others. The great

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agitators were soon snapped off to other schemes of theirs for making fortunes; they became Sunderbund grantees, Cossitollah coach-builders, and Intally wood-venders. The ebullition of such different schemes soon destroyed the general scheme, and condensed into their own fortune-schemes: eventually the energies of such wild spirits sobered down, doubtless, it did them good, for to a man they turned out steady, and some of them have been the pride of the Service of their day.

In 1830 the Clipper *Red-Rover* was launched and took the vacancy left open by the *Louisa's* loss—the same Captain Clifton commanded her. The benefit of an Upper or Gasper Light had been mooted, and the Government at last conceded to the prayer, and ordered one to be built. Edmonstone's Island, growing small by degrees and beautifully less, was no longer talked off as a fit place for a sanitarium, and doubts were expressed whether it would not have to be deserted. In 1831 the *Beacon* Light Vessel was launched at Howrah and took her place in the Gasper Channel; Edmonstone's Island was deserted and its establishment transferred to Middleton Point, where a tripod was erected from which to show a light. The Sand-heads in this year was visited, perhaps, by the heaviest cyclone (that is, if we take the damage done to the Pilot Brigs on the station as a criterion) in the memory of the oldest Pilot: its greatest rage did not seem of a very great extent. It seemed to have reached from Diamond Harbour to the Sand-heads. Both the Indiamen, *Thos. Grenville* and *Minerva* drifted from the Diamond Harbour moorings, and the *Minerva* grounded on the Saltpetre Ghaut. An Arab Ship parted and went on the bank between the Post Office and the now Custom House, and lost her rudder. The sea wave burst in the Diamond Harbour bunds and flooded the country. At Kedgeree two Arab ships were driven from their anchor, one landed on Coverdale's bluff, the other found a bed on the shore abreast of the Kedgeree Bazar, but both of these vessels had been driven so far up on the bank, from the strength of the gale, that there was no possibility of getting them off before they were lightened of their cargo. The Barque *Mercury* was saved from the same fate by promptly having her masts cut away. Her anchors started, and she was dragging slowly in shore, but as soon as she was eased of her masts she brought up. The *Jane* Buoy Vessel had dragged from Saugor Roads and continued drifting, till Fisherman's Flat brought her up below Cowcolly Light-house, where she bumped her rudder off. The *Mermaid* parted from her anchor at the Pilot's cruising station and drifted in, and grounded on the bank at Ridgellee, whence she was

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extricated by the perseverance of Mr. Fielder, who prevailed on the natives to dig a canal, to float the *Mermaid* out, with *codallies* and wooden shovels. The *Guide* came in with loss of mainmast and anchors, the *Seahorse* also put in with loss of anchors, the Outer Light Vessel drifted, and was brought up on the Balasore shore. This gale lasted two days the 31st of October and 1st of November.

The next year (1831), on the seventh of October, the Sandheads again were visited with a South East storm. The *Seahorse* was at anchor near to the Outer Light, the *Asseerghur* was riding with the buoy station near to the reef buoy. At 4-30 A. M. the watch on deck observed the *Seahorse* to be drifting, and that directly upon the *Asseerghur ;* the alarm was given, and after some doubts, the order was given to cut the cable. No hopes being left of the *Seahorse* driving past without striking the *Asseerghur*, we cut from 160 fathoms, the *Seahorse* cut also. The *Seahorse* hoisted a fore-top-mast stay sail and went to Kedgeree, without setting any more sail. We packed the *Asseerghur* with sail and tried to force her to sea over the Eastern reef on a flood tide; the tide was too strong and the sea too high, the sea making a complete breach over the vessel, shivering as if she had the ague at every bound. We gave up the reef and wore round to try Saugor sand, with a far worse chance of accomplishing the required object, till at last the project of driving the vessel to sea was abandoned. The helm was put up and away flew the *Asseerghur* under rags for Saugor, comparatively easy, if she found it, but to certain destruction if she missed her way. We passed the *Beacon* riding and holding on at her station, the Gasper Channel, but she was plunging furiously to the rollers passing under and over her. The Ship *Brunswick* we passed with two anchors down, riding off Saugor anchorage; while in the act of passing her the mizen mast fell over her side. We found the Pilot Vessel *Mermaid* riding at anchor, bound out at Saugor Flat Buoy. We rounded to and anchored at a short distance from the *Mermaid*. We had not been very long at anchor, when the *Brunswick* passed us running up ; she passed on the flat side of us and went into the new anchorage, intending to put the *Brunswick* into Dog's Creek, but she grounded on the southern point of the creek, and fell out some time after she had grounded. The Leadsman, Mr. W. Hart, was lost when the ship fell over. This gale was of but a short duration, the sun came in sight just before it set, and I think it was the most beautiful sun-set I ever saw : the gale quite subsided by midnight—the *Brunswick* was a total loss.

This year was a sad one for the Pilot Service—Alexander

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and Co., the Bank of Hindustan, failed, and with them the most of the Pilots' savings. The new channel growing very narrow and shallow, Mr. Hart grounded H. M.'s *Challenger* on a lump in a new channel; a buoy was placed on the sand to mark it, and both the sand and the buoy were called *Challenger's* Lump and Buoy. By the 5th of April, 1833, the new channel was so bad that the *Asseerghur* racing to get out before the *Henry Newton*, lay aground in the new channel for four hours. In May of this year a hurricane ravaged the country, blowing every vessel away from her anchorage from Saugor Point up to Royapore Sister Trees, with the exception of the Schooner *Elizabeth*, which rode the gale out at Silver Tree. The Ship *Sultan* lying well to southward in Saugor roads, drove on the long land sand and went to pieces, not a soul being saved from her. The *Henry Newton* lying further northward in Saugor, drifted across to Cowcolly with three anchors down; the tide was running so violently in the brunt of the gale, a pig of kentledge would not rest on the bottom, being forced off by the strength of the current. The *Duke of York*, Indiaman, parted from the head of Saugor roads, and went direct across to Hidgellee, where she grounded on the beach and became a wreck. The *Lord Amherst* ran down with the front of the gale to Cowcolly and drifted on shore close to the Lighthouse. She had eventually to be broken up.

The *Robert Gascoine* and another ship were driven ashore at Kedgeree; the Pilot Vessel *Asseerghur* drove from her anchorage at Nynan and found a rest for herself on the northern point at the entrance of the Damoodah; an Arab ship parted from three anchors and mounted the bund in Royapore Reach, opposite to the Sister Trees. Sloops and boats were strewed about stranded in divers parts of the river, and the whole country was devastated by this gale. Saugor Tripod, which had been erected to distinguish the point by day, and from which a light was shown by night, was thrown down, its feet being inserted only nine inches into the earth. Mr. Horton's house at Kedgeree was riddled through by the water breaking in, during the brunt of the gale, from four to five feet over the lower floor, the bazaar was quite washed away, and many people drowned. Diamond Harbour was flooded, and the fresh water tanks being ruined by the salt-water breaking into them, the natives had to travel to the northward to find fresh water. After one gale had passed over, its effects left the country in a state so offensive and unhealthy, that the Government sent persons down to put the decomposed matter out of sight, and in and about Diamond Harbour, not less than eighty corpses in parts and entire were gathered and buried.

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About this time, two vessels were lost. The *Hope*, Messrs. Locken and King, Pilot and Leadsman, dragged her anchor, and grounded on Fisherman's flat, near to Lloyd's Channel, and became a total wreck. The Brig *Industry*, parted her chain cable, near Kedgeree and drifted down, till she grounded on the Mizen, in Lloyd's Channel, where she capsized, so suddenly, that the water was rushing down the hatch-ways, as the people were coming up. The crew were saved from her, by a boat, for which they had not time to procure oars. The crew had to paddle with their hands, and to hold up some of their clothes to shoot the boat away from the breakers on the Long Sand; both of these vessels were lost at night-time. The boat gained Saugor Island and there her crew made temporary oars, out of sticks, and pieces of cask heads and staves which they had picked up.

In 1833, the new Channel became so shallow, that the Pilot Vessel *Asseerghur*, grounded in passing down the fair way, and lay aground for four hours. This same year in the month of May the river Hooghly was visited by a severe storm, its extreme rage extended from Saugor to Royapore. Between these places the River was strewed with vessels aground, and wrecks. First the Ship *Sultan*, lying off Saugor Point anchorage, drove on the Long Sand, and went to pieces, all hands perished: next to her the Pilot Brig *Henry Meriton* was lying nearly abreast of Sindh's Low Point, from whence she dragged her anchors, going across the Long Sand. No one on board could positively tell she was driving, but by the shifting depths of the sounding; she passed from shallow water into deep. They threw over board a heavy pig of kentledge, attached to a coil of rope, but the current was passing the vessel so rapidly, although she was driving, that it would not rest on the bottom, but was swept by the tide right astern. A chain cable was then bent to a third anchor, and let go over all, that soon showed the drifting state of affairs, from the chains growing out taught and straight ahead; when the gale abated, the *Meriton* was riding off Cowcolly, she having directly crossed the river. The Indiaman *Duke of York* parted from the Northern part of Saugor Coasts, where she had been moored, and went across the river also, doubtless passing over a portion of the Long Sand, that was partially dry in ordinary tides at low water; this vessel found a rest for herself on Hidgelee beach, from which she was never again floated. The Ship *Lord Amherst*, in the commencement of the gale, made a rush down from Rangafullah and was brought up abreast of Cowcolly Light-house: she parted from her anchors in the storm, and mounted the beach opposite to where she had been riding

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at anchor. When the gale subsided the water receded, which left the *Amherst* a dry vessel. She had to be broken up. The Ships *Robert Gascoigne* and *Earnout*, were all riding at Kedgeree when the gale commenced. When the storm was finished, these vessels were piled on the beach, nearly at equal distances apart, reaching from Kedgeree creek to Kedgeree point, all having parted from their anchors and mounted the bank. These vessels, after some difficulty, were floated and worked again on their own element. The Schooner *Elizabeth*, Mr. Seppin, Pilot, bravely rode out the storm at anchor off Silver Obelisk, but was shattered, being so close under the Sand. The Pilot Vessel *Asseerghur* worked up, in the beginning of this gale, from Saugor to Nynan, where she was brought to a stand-still by the tide, and from force of wind dragged her anchors in the height of the storm, placing herself comfortably on the northern point of the Damooda river, in close proximity with the trees called the Drunken Masters. The *Asseerghur* hove off to one of her anchors, when the wind lulled. An Arab Ship that was riding off the Sister Trees before the gale, parted from three anchors and found a seat for herself against the bund, on the opposite side of the river. The shipping and river casualties seem to have been few above this part of the river, but great devastation was done to the country between these points. The tripod erected for a mark to show the point by day, and on which Saugor Light was shown at night, was turned over by the wind. The feet of this tripod were originally inserted only one foot into the ground, thinking, I presume, it would sink too fast, in the rains, by its own weight. Mr. Horton's house at Kedgeree was quite riddled by the sea wave passing through it; the family and those who took refuge in it, had to resort to the second floor for safety, the back stair-case being considered the safest portion of the dwelling. Not a vestige of Kedgeree bazaar was left, and the greater portion of the residents was swept off by the flood, while the residue lived in disease, starvation, and stench. The country up to Diamond Harbour was inundated, and the tanks of fresh water spoilt, by the sea wave breaking over their embankments. The water as on a former occasion became brackish and undrinkable, so the poor wretches that resided to the southward of this place, were driven to the northward in search of fresh water; many however found their death, before their want could be supplied. These deaths rendered Diamond Harbour so obnoxious to the nose, and so unhealthy to the lungs, that the Government thought it incumbent on them to send persons down to that place, to put the decomposed matter

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out of sight. At Diamond Harbour alone were gathered fragments, that had formed not less than eighty entire persons, the refuse of jackalls, dogs, vultures, kites, and crows. These portions were buried to prevent further mutilations and their exhalations no longer permitted to poison the atmosphere.

1834.—The Barque *Lord of the Isles* was wrecked on the Fillingham Sand. She drove in the night and grounded on the Sand; on the night flood she floated, but there was no wind to run the ship off, and in the attempt to spring her into the channel with the anchor, she again took the ground and turned keel up. A man, that was feeding the stock in the long boat, was pitched out into a little boat that had been turned up, over the long boat for shelter but not lashed: this little boat under Providence was the means of saving the rest of the vessel's crew. In the years 1833-34, two years, not less than twenty-four vacancies happened in the Pilot Service.

In the gale of 1835, the Arab Ship *Fattle Mam*, Mr. William Birch, Pilot, sunk by heavy riding off Kedgeree; she was old and must have been weak, for her wooden rails it is said started and she went down, Mr. Berch and a portion of her crew with her.

1836.—Custom House Officers were first posted to vessels in Calcutta and accompanied the ships to Kedgeree, and inward bound vessels took Custom House Officers on board there also. The station was afterwards removed to Diamond Harbour. Moyaparah Light-house growing dangerous, one of the Pilot Brigs was ordered to do rocket and blue-light duties at the Point Palmira station. The Ship *Asia* under Pilotage charge of Mr. Macdormond was lost this year. Attempting to work the ship from Saugor, drawing 18 feet, with an E. S. East wind, when the tide was done, he anchored her in the lower part of the Gasper Channel, and she struck during the night and knocked off her rudder, then the chain was slipped, but the vessel would lie in the trough of the sea, and was forging over the Gasper. This caused them to cut away the ship's mizen mast, which being a drag in the water before the rigging was cut from the ship, caused the *Asia* to pay off the wind, and she ran up until she reached Saugor bluff where she went on the beach and became a total wreck. In the month of August the Ship *Windsor*, formerly an Indiaman, started before high water from Saugor anchorage with a westerly wind. At high water the *Windsor* had reached the upper buoy of the Gasper, the wind had died away to a calm, and the ebb tide making, here was the ship left without a retreat and nearly without a hope. Steam alone could have

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saved her; wanting that, she struck the ground and sunk near to the lower buoy of the middle ground. The late Indiaman Ship *Windsor* started with a westerly wind to go out from Saugor anchorage, in the month of August, at high water. When the ship was off the upper buoy of the Gasper the wind died away to a dead calm, leaving the ship no retreat. Nothing was left but to proceed on, hoping for a breeze which did not come. The poor *Windsor* therefore went on to destruction, knocking her bottom in, and sinking near to the lower buoy of the middle ground. This vessel burst twelve months after, and the smell emitted was most disagreeable while in the vicinity of the wreck.

1837.—The Hooghly was once more visited by a circular storm, the wind blowing north-west off Point Palmira. It drove the Brig *Highland Chief* ashore from Saugor Point Anchorage on the long sand with the wind from the East, and made her a total wreck, the hands however being saved. The Brig *Jessie* was inclined to follow the *Highland Chief's* example, but Mr. R. Walters cut the cable and allowed the *Jessie* to run till she neared Kedgeree, then he beached her after the gale. She came off to be burnt some years afterwards.

1838.—Another joint was added to the Pilotage. A Light-house had been erected at False Point and the light was shown therefore the Pilots were directed to cruise off this Light-house, so that Commanders of Vessels might be doubly gratified, being delighted with the light, and made happy by receiving a Pilot shortly after. This plan however did not work well, and from the length of the Pilotage, and the quantity of the Pilots, the station was never kept. It resembled one of the members of the Service, who had a mutilated hand. He bought a flageolet but when his rage for making a noise had subsided, he found he had not fingers enough to cover the holes. So with this station, there were not Pilots enough and False Point but too often proved a falsehood. From the difficulty of beating the Brigs to the Southward, the Ships and Brigs were continually missing each other, so this plan had to be abandoned, and really it was not required, for the coast was provided with a good Light-house, and that would give Commanders a fresh departure. This year the Pilot Service was augmented by six Masters and six Mates, making thirty in each of these grades. The Ship *Raj Ranee* was lost in the Eastern Reef near to the Spit Buoy under the Pilotage directions of Mr. Ghur, and the Ship *Sir Herbert Taylor* turned over off Silver Tree Obelisk, and was buried in the Sand. The Troop Ship *Protec-*

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tor was also lost off the Sandheads, no Pilot on board, in an October gale. After the gale the Eastern Channel was covered with floating wrecks, bales, goods, trees, planks and merchandize—a man was seen floating, and supposed to be dead. The Commander of one of the Brigs ordered the vessel's boat away and requested the person in charge of the boat, to sink the dead man, to put him out of sight and smell. On nearing the man it was made out that he was a Soldier, this was vociferated from the person in the boat, at the top of his lungs. This aroused the Soldier, who had only been dozing, and not dead, he answered, saying "Yes! I am all of that: is that Serjeant Doherty's boat,? I have been waiting for you these three days." This Soldier was lying between two pieces of deck planking, they lying across each other, like a pair of scissors, the man's body keeping the shears open, with his arms round the planks, where they crossed each other. This formed the rivets for these scissors, and kept the planks from floating away from each other, while the double leverage of these planks lifted the man's head comfortably out of the water. The man with difficulty was persuaded to lose his hold of the planks. When on board the boat he seemed to be a stout man, but that was occasioned by his being so saturated with water. It was strange that he did not seem to suffer much from thirst. Amongst other things picked up from the *Protector's* wreck was a large packing case, which it was most difficult to sling, and the party in the boat, thinking the lascars were going clumsily to work in securing the case, made the attempt to get on it, but that soon showed that the case wanted depth for his weight, for it rose out of the water at the opposite end and nearly shot him into it. He was glad enough to spring back to the boat and secure the case with a hook rope, and tow it alongside the Brig. The case was taken on board and opened out, when it was found to contain a picture of Dr. Bryce. It was cleansed from the mud that had found its way on to the picture through the tin, then dried and sent up to Calcutta. I believe this identical picture may be seen on any day hanging up in the vestry of the Scotch Kirk. Another Soldier was picked up by the French Brig *Astronomie* who had saved himself in a similar way to the other man, with two planks one across the other.

In 1839, the Hooghly was very lumpy about Fultah and the Barque *Equitable*, in passing down this reach in the month of October, grounded on a lump and immediately turned over, this lump was named the *Equitable* lump. The crew were saved from this Vessel by two French Vessels, the *Indien*, and *Robert Sur-*

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couf. The Ship *Francis Warden*, was lost near to Coverdale's bluff, under the Pilotage directions of Mr. Charles Jackson, who was dismissed the service. About this time one of the members of the service suggested that the row-boat which was stationed at Hooghly Point, to assist Ships that ran aground on the James and Mary's, should be so placed as to show the depth of water by signal, that it might keep vessels from going aground, rather than to pull them off, when they were there. This suggestion was adopted, and a row-boat has been engaged on that work ever since, with a few improvements of the tide Index Piles. In 1841, the Ship *Lady Stormont* grounded on the Channel Creek Lump off Mud Point, and went over directly: the Steam Vessel *Satellite* was instrumental in saving her crew. The Barque *Water Lilly*, grew to be a water log, and was put on Saugor Beach at the back of the middle ground, in a sinking state, where she was abandoned, and soon went to pieces. The *William Barras* took the ground in dropping down, on the lumps opposite Hospital Point; her Pilot was on her deck at the time, five minutes afterwards he found himself in the vicinity of her mast head truck and in the water, a speedy shift, more quick than comfortable.

The Hooghly was visited by a cyclone in 1842. The area of its extreme range seemed to embrace the length and breadth of the River from Saugor to Cossipore. Two Vessels were lost riding at anchor in company with thirteen Vessels off Kedgeree and Cowcolly. The Brig *Symmetry* drove and struck on a sand, sunk, and all hands perished. The Ship *Globe* struck also, but the crew and Pilot, Mr. Filby, deserted her in a partially stove-in boat. The carpenter of the *Globe* repaired the damaged portion of the boat, with pieces of salt beef, which they took from the Ship. Placing these pieces of meat against the holes, and making one of the boat's crew, in the absence of nails, sit on each piece of meat to keep it in its place, this salt-meat may be said to have worked double tides, keeping the water out, while fixed in the boat, and making the recipients take in water to allay thirst created by the half cooked state of the salt-meat. The boat's crew fed upon when it was withdrawn from the boat as a plug. In this gale some Vessels drove up to Cossipore from Calcutta, and sunk. This same year the Ship *Strathfieldsay* was lost in passing from Kedgeree Point to the Auckland Channel; she was drifted up by the flood and grounded on the land. The *Recorder* also, in attempting to cross the James and Mary's, turned over on it. The Pilot and Leadsman both had to swim for their lives. The Captain and some portion of the crew were drowned.

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In May, 1842, a Ship, was proceeding down the Hooghly under tug of a Steamer. It was found expedient to anchor them off the Rangafullah Pagoda, for want of water to go further in the inner Rangafullah Channel. The Steam Vessel engaged in towing this Ship came to anchor close by her. The Commander of the Steamer had his wife on board. The Pilot of the Ship asked her Commander, if he had any objections to accompany him to the Steamer, as he wished to consult her Captain. None being made, they went. When there, they were requested to remain to dinner, to which they consented. The dinner was going merrily on, till a dark cloud was seen gathering to the North-West, which caused the meal to be speedily despatched. The Commander of the Ship and the Pilot hastily seated themselves in the tow-boat, in hopes of gaining their vessel before the gathering storm could strike her, but when the boat was mid-way between the Ship and Steamer, on came the gust, down came the rain, and the boatmen's strength was weakness to the force of the wind. The boat's head turned for the bank against every opposing nerve. The Commander of the Ship divested himself of his pantaloons for a swim. The land was soon found, but the boat was as soon lost by the shore. The Captain, on the boat touching the beach, sprang for the shore, and landed horizontally, holding in one hand his pantaloons, while he made a grapnel of the other, sinking his fingers deep into the mud to get a good grip of *terra firma*. The Pilot stuck to the boat to receive another shock, but the second time it went up a boat, but came down in pieces. The Pilot gained the shore. These people were under the double fright of the Ship coming on shore, while they were out of her, and of a tiger crossing their paths and taking them off it, they with the boat having lost all means of escape from this inhospitable shore, and darkness coming on. The ship coming on shore during the blow had taken up such a position in the Captain's head, that he forgot he was wandering with his pantaloons dangling from his hand. The squall lasted about two hours when it subsided into a calm. The Commander of the Steamer, seeing the danger of the boat and the jeopardy of those in it, after the squall, sent his Steamer's boat to ascertain the fate of the crew, but the night had closed in dark, and the person in charge of the boat could not see anything, so he began to shout the names of the Commander and Pilot alternately, to which they answered more readily, than they would have done to the roar of a tiger. This boat conveyed the boat-wrecked and frightened people to their Ship. The next morning the *maunghee* of the lost boat made a

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stirring appeal to the Commander, regarding his destitute state by the loss of his boat, declaring that with it he had lost his means of subsistence. The Commander being a humane man, asked the price of a new boat, which the *maunghee* stated to be one hundred Rupees. The Captain consented to go half that price, if the Pilot would go the other half! The boat was to be held by the parties purchasing it as their property, and they were to participate in the earnings of the boat in the same way as native boat owners do. To this plan all parties consented, and the boat was purchased for one hundred and twenty-five Rupees. The agreement seemed fair enough in words, but it was never carried out in deeds, for the boat was always employed, but never made anything for the owners save losses, which they were required to make up. The *maunghee* was a clever boatman, seldom wanting a job. After one of these jobs, the boat was lying at Saugor, waiting to be engaged, until it fell short of fire-wood. The crew went on shore on the island to gather roots and sticks to burn. While thus engaged, a tiger pounced upon them. An old man, one of the crew, recommended their making a bold stand, stating that whoever ran would surely have the tiger after him. The *maunghee*, eyeing the flock, and doubtless thinking, if the tiger was a judge of meat, he would be the selected one, as he was the largest man of the crew, would not wait to test the tiger's selection, but off he went, and, as the old man had predicted, the tiger went after him. The *maunghee* had a nephew among the crew, who, seeing the dreadful fate likely to overtake his uncle, seized on the stoutest stick within his reach and ran down after the tiger. The uncle had reached the margin of the water when the tiger was at his heels. To evade the tiger, he immersed himself in the water, but the tiger was not thus to be cheated of his prey, for he put out his paw, and one of the claws entered the cheek of the *maunghee* below the eye. The tiger drew the man to itself, having seized him by the arm, and was turning to carry away the uncle, when the nephew was there to meet him with the upraised stick. This he let drop on the nose of the tiger with such force, that the stick broke short off at the hand that planted the blow, but not before it had destroyed the tiger's channel of breathing through its nostrils. This relaxed the jaw of the tiger, and it dropped the uncle, dreadfully lacerated, to the tender mercies of the nephew. The poor man was conveyed to his dwelling, and when the Pilot, who had participated in the price of the boat, was ascending the river, a tow-boat boarded the ship which he was conducting, and imparted to him an overdrawn account of the wounds and

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suffering of the *maunghee*, stating that he was so perforated in the cheek and neck, that, when he smoked the hookah, the smoke was seen escaping from these apertures. The Pilot going in an upward bound ship could not stop, but on his return with another vessel, he had to remain for water, to cross the James and Mary's. He went on shore, and there he found the lacerated *maunghee* sitting beneath musquito curtains, with the hole in his face dreadfully swollen, and his arm from the elbow up to the shoulder covered with loose cotton sticking into the wounded parts, and so bad a smell arising from him that it was impossible to put up with it. A boat was procured to convey him to Calcutta, and a letter written to gain him admission into the Chaundy Native Hospital. The man was admitted, and it was stated that he was recovering from his wounds, when, growing zealous or tired of his idle life, he rose one morning at 4 A. M, and started off to walk home a distance of thirty miles. This exertion brought on fever which ended in causing his wounds to mortify, and he died. Some week or two after his death, a procession was seen entering the door of the Pilot's house who owned a portion of the boat, consisting of the nephew of the deceased man, preceded by a black goat, and followed by a number of dark children. This arrested the attention of the inmates of the house, and their curiosity was alive to know the cause. After a short explanation, the nephew stated, that the deceased man's wife stated the gentleman was so good to give her a husband, but as he had gone, the boat would go with him, and she would have no means of supporting herself, therefore she intended giving the gentleman a further opportunity of displaying his goodness, by taking to himself the children and the goat!

Somewhere about 1843, a Commander of a Ship offered to convey Chinamen from Calcutta, who had been brought from Singapore and other places, to manipulate the Tea for the Assam Company, but they were found so light-fingered before they reached their destination, that they were soon sent back to Calcutta, to finger what was not exactly their own. One hundred were placed on board the Ship for Mauritius. They had bad habits—such as smoking opium, and the Chief Officer too took umbrage at the careless method of their conveying fire on board the Ship. One man, after smoking, fell from the top of the long boat on to the deck, therefore the Chief Officer declared he would flog the first Chinaman that he caught smoking below. It was not long before he found a chance for doing so, and the man was tied up as an example to others. He received only five blows

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when he fainted, and gave much trouble to bring him round, but when he recovered he stated in good Malay that he would cut the Officer's throat. This idea haunted the First Officer and all the Chinamen's chests and things were searched, and all things formed of iron were taken from them. The Ship lost anchors on the passage down, and had to return to Diamond Harbour, while the Captain went to Calcutta to procure more anchors. The Ship's main hatch was appropriated for a stable for five horses, the hatchway being fenced round by studding-sail yards and boom to the height of 5 feet. The Chinamen after this, asked that they might be permitted to smoke their opium at night on each side of the main hatch, which was granted, and every night they steeped their brains with the fumes of opium, swooning off into a state of forgetfulness. Among the horses on the main hatch, was a piebald Rungpore pony, and one abominable looking mare, with one of those peculiar tails, that have no long hairs on them, called rat-tails, looking more like a belaying pin for a crupper, than a tail for a horse. The pony was continually engaged in wringing this poor mare's tail with his teeth; and one beautiful moonlight night, near to midnight, the pony wrung her tail so severely, that she could not, or would not stand it any longer. She broke away from her headfast, cleared the temporary stable, and lighted on the deck, clear of the Chinamen, but there was a villanous dog ready to meet the mare, which it did. The mare was turned, and trotted past on one man's stomach, and on another's thigh, passing over about twenty-five of them, pitting and patting them with her four legs. This noise aroused the Chief Officer, who, suspecting an *emeute* among the Chinamen, jumped out of bed, saying, "Pilot, Pilot, the Chinamen have rose,"—so they had, after being disturbed at the ratio of one-horse power. The Pilot was rather a slow coach, and said "I will come when I get my hat stuffed and my great coat on." Two towels were shoved quickly into the Pilot's hat, to barricade a blow on the head, and the great coat adjusted to avoid a stick from a knife. Off started the Pilot for the scene of strife, with his hat moving on his head like a rocking stone. During the time he had been equipping himself, the Chief Officer and the dog had not been idle. They had both been pitching into the mob, the Vessel being into a state of confusion, while the mare, after doing the damage on one side of the deck, was standing on the other doubtless as frightened as the Chinamen themselves. The noise caused the Ship's crew to rush aft, which frightened the mare round the bow of the long boat, and when the Pilot saw her coming to trot over another batch of

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Chinamen whom no noise seemed able to arouse, he saw the whole thing at a glance, and begged the Chief Officer to desist as he said it was only the night-mare in the Ship.

The Brig *Floravilla* in attempting the James and Mary's at night, turned turtle and became a total loss. The French Ship *Adèle* in trying to reach Diamond Harbour at night, fetched the Diamond sand, when she broke up. This Vessel's loss drew forth an order that Pilots in future should be furnished with a letter of permission to travel with Vessels in the night time. The French Barque *Victor Félice*, with her double figure-head, could not keep herself clear of Kedgeree Point, and broke up in 1844. The Schooner *Columbine* went on shore, and running up the Eastern Channel, struck on Saugor Sand, nearly abreast of the Gasper Light Vessel. The *Cameon* parted from her chain or dragged her anchor from Cowcolly, and placed herself on the mizen land, where she left her ribs. The Barque *Brilliant* smashed herself on Saugor Land, and came off to sink near the Gasper Light Vessel.

In 1845 the French Ship *Marcombie* thumped the Gasper Sand, and came off to sink at the head of Thornhill's Channel. In 1846 the Arab Ship *Samdany*, very ancient, was caught in a blow near to the Spit Buoy. In 1846 Mr. G. B. Smart managed to get the Ship in, but after losing anchors and sails, he thought it expedient to beach her. The Barque *Carnatic*, under the Pilotage care of Mr. Elleridge, went on Saugor Point and become a wreck. The Arab Ship *Mustapha* grounded on the James and Mary's bank, and rested there, till broken up.

In 1848 the Sandheads was disturbed by a terrible cyclone, doing great damage to the Shipping outside. The Schooner *High-flyer* parted from the northern part of Saugor Roads, and was made to fly high and dry on Cowcolly Beach. The Ship *Nussur* was lost this year in a squall off the Sandheads. It was supposed she started some thing. The Ship *Helen* went down at anchor, off Culpee. Messrs. A. Scott and Little, Pilot and Leadsman, were put on board of a Native Brig, laden with timber, which sunk from under them, and the crew resorted to a raft. This raft was afterwards left by a portion of the crew for a boat, those on the raft were taken off by the dismasted Ship *Framjee Cowasjee*; and the boat's crew reached Coringa after having been thirteen days without water or food, excepting two small sharks, which were caught, and their blood drank. The Pilot and Leadsman, were in the boat that reached Coringa, where they both landed in a very exhausted state. The *Cabrass* drove in a gale from

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the South West on to Saugor Sand. The Pilot perished, but the Leadsman reached the shore to the eastward of Saugor Island, and subsisted some time in the jungle, until he was at last brought to Calcutta by one of the Up-country Steamers. The Ship *Crowned Prince of Denmark* went against the bank in Somgerall Reach. She came off, but could not be kept afloat; and was at last designedly beached off the Esplanade, where she went to pieces.

In 1849 a great deal of agitation grew up in the Service, from the increase in the Shipping. A club was organised to combine the Services into one mind, but it proved more of the wedge, than the band, for it divided rather than combined good feeling, gendering discontent, rather than a willingness to the work. It was too *exparte* and has partially died away, although I believe it still breathes, as the chrysalis more than the butterfly. It is strange that each twentieth year since the Service has been established, a movement of the sort has been made.

In April, 1850, the Sandheads were troubled with a South East gale. One of the Pilot Brigs lost her anchors and cable, and came in during the blow, passing two dismasted Vessels in Thornhill's Channel, and the Arab Barque *Hamoody* ashore on Saugor Flat. The Ship *Ariadne* was lost under Pilotage charge of Mr. Wm. Harrison, on Saugor Sand, in a strong Westerly blow; Mr. Harrison's brother lost the *Cabrass* thirteen months before; both these brothers were drowned, but both the Leadsmen escaped and landed to the Eastward of Saugor Island. The last, a Mr. Thomas, remained for twenty-five days in the jungles, subsisting on what he could catch; and that was but a small allowance. The dew was licked from the leaves, in the absence of water, and slugs were substituted for oysters, but neither of these were found in quantity and numbers sufficient to satisfy the cravings of nature. Mr. Thomas in his starved and bewildered state was sometimes led to believe himself near to Mr. Wilson's, and in the vicinity of reeking joints, but these delusive imaginations had to be satisfied with the drainings of a leaf, and instead of the streaky fat and lean of a joint, the youth had to crumble an empty oyster-shell, hoping for moisture and substance. In 1851, the Ship *Phænomenon* was speedily wrecked, by touching on a lump that rose up off the Northern point of the Baratcha. A Swedish Brig under Pilotage charge of Mr. D. Sandeman grounded on Fort Mornington Point in this year, and eventually got wrecked; driving from Fort Mornington Point to the entrance of the Damooda to accomplish her final destruction. This year also the Hooghly and Sandheads were visited by

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a severe storm which totally dismasted the *Cavery*. The French Ship *Jacques* was driven in upon the Sandheads and wrecked. Great damage was done to the Ships riding at Saugor. A Barque parted and went on Saugor Point, Mr. Geo. Young, Pilot. The Steamer *Precursor* drove on Kedgeree Beach and came off with the loss of her rudder.

In 1852 the Pilot station for sending Pilots on board of Vessels was again removed from the South Channel, and established on the Pilots' Ridge, as a more eligible spot. Ships frequenting the Port having increased in numbers and size, it was thought expedient to give them a more extensive cruising ground while waiting for Pilots, instead of crowding them together amid sands, and strong tides; besides this, the Pilots' Ridge forms a complete garden walk, and is an infallible guide in a rainy day, on the darkest night, leading to the Pilot Brig for any Ship, if she be placed on this ridge as the garden gate. This Station has the advantage over every other one chosen, as to boarding Vessels with the boat. Cruising Vessels now remain under way for as much as a month without anchoring. Anchoring at night in a Brig now-a-days forms the exception—before it was the rule. It is easier for the crews of the Brigs and more pleasing to the Commander of a Vessel receiving a Pilot, and it greatly expedites Piloting. The increased arrivals of Shipping have rendered this method of cruising a necessity.

On the 14th of May, 1852, another terrible cyclone covered the area of the Sandheads, driving all the Pilot Brigs and the Floating Light adrift excepting the Saugor Pilot Vessels which were doing Ridge Light Vessel duties. She stuck to her station; and her Commander attributes her doing so to a three-stranded coir cable which she had out, and which bound her to her station, when all the other Brigs parted. The *Cavery* returned dismasted. On September 4th, a small cyclone of an area of confined dimensions rushed across the Sandheads and Balasore Roads, which took the *Fame* P. V. aback, and laid her over fearfully. It caught the *Saugor* riding at anchor with 130 fathoms of cable out: her anchor started and she was blown up Balasore Roads, at the rate of five miles per hour. The *Saugor* went over, so much that the ducks swam over her rail, and buckets were floated from the deck. The severest part of the breeze lasted only two hours, during which time, doubtless, the Tug Steamer *Lion* was swamped.

During the year 1853, the Barque *Hamed Shaw* was lost on Fultah Sand, the *City of Poonah* drifted at night on

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Saugor Beach, but was got off, the *William Jardine* was lost on the mizen sand in Lloyd's Channel, and the *Nizam* rolled over at Nynan low lumps. The *Victoria* capsized in a squall, as well as the American Ship *Gasper*, which was lost under the Pilotage directions of Mr. Arrowsmith, on the bank at Nynan. Again lately may be enumerated the American Ship *Lightfoot*, at Saugor, and the *Robert Barbour* in the Bedford Channel, the *General List* on Kedgeree Beach and the *Alma* that turned over off Hooghly Point. I think I have thus enumerated almost all the Ships that have been lost with Pilots on board. The *Protector* and *James* had no Pilots on board, when they were lost.

The river is boldly stated to be deteriorating. If such be the case, there has been no provision made for this contingency, in the draught of Shipping, but it has been added to. If therefore the bed of the River has come up, the Ships have been permitted to sink down, so as to rest upon it. Is it wonderful then if they do so in a greater ratio than formerly? Ships are longer and deeper now than heretofore, and are less easily managed; this accounts for the greater number of casualties.

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ART. III.—*The English in Western India. Being the Early History of the Factory at Surat, of Bombay and the Subordinate Factories on the Western Coast, from the Earliest Period until the commencement of the Eighteenth Century. By Philip Anderson, A. M., Chaplain in the Diocese of Bombay, &c., &c. Bombay,* 1854.

IN this age of elaborate essays and ponderous tomes, when the observations of a day or wanderings of a week are inflated from their legitimate sphere, it is not without a secret feeling of gratulation that we discover less pretentious labours, challenging the attention, and striving to obtain in the world of literature a standard of importance and acknowledgment. The size and contents of the work now before us have just claims upon our attentive consideration, and would, but for the discrepancy between its title and contents, have elicited our warmest commendation.

The author entitles his production, *The History of the Factories of Surat, Bombay,* &c., &c., from the earliest period up to the eighteenth century, and we confess we were somewhat startled, at the same time highly delighted, at having met with a writer whose power of condensation reduced his annals to a corresponding number of octavo pages. Our enjoyment was not however destined to be of long duration. The two first lines of the preface destroyed our hopes of curtness, and explained that which the title does not, the nature of the work in these words:

"The following pages will not, it is hoped, be thought un-
' called for, as they fill an *hiatus* in Indian History," and farther on we learn; "The aim has simply been to *supplement*
' histories and record circumstances which had been concealed
' from observation, through the neglect of enquirers, a low
' estimate of their value, or timidity in exposing nude and
' ugly truths."

This prefatory exposition is correct; the work is not a strictly history but rather the combination of a number of hitherto unrecorded facts, highly important, we admit, as shewing more the private than political workings of the first settlers and their successors in India. We wish however for the author's sake, that the title had been indicative of the contents, for, quoting his own language, "He has not endeavoured to walk
' upon the stilts of fancy, but has been satisfied with the secure
' footing of plain dealing and truth." To this statement we fully subscribe, and have much pleasure in bearing our testimony, to the praiseworthy manner, in which he has endeavoured

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to elucidate many of the ambiguous and early portions of the connection between the British and Indian Governments. This necessarily pourtrays scenes, crimes, and actions alike startling and pusillanimous, which the honorable and humane will ever reject as a blot upon our presence in the East. On the other hand, the uncertain diplomacy and irreconcilable factions here developed, afford ample grounds for admiring the persevering energy of the East India Company and its officers, to whom the British nation are indebted, for having successfully brought into order, elements so uncongenial, and subjugated a territory of such magnitude and importance to the British Crown.

Advisedly we pay this tribute to the endeavours of the East India Company, the reputation of which has too frequently been assailed by interested calumniators for specific interests, and we are well pleased to find works like the present offering to the public, the means of forming an unbiassed opinion. Doubtless many appointments have been unfortunate, and acts enforced that were both premature and ill digested. Nevertheless there is this fact let us handle it as we may, that India with her three Presidencies, her boundless wealth and enormous population, is an appendage of the British Sovereign. And let us hope that those who deny the previous fortunate, if not good government, by which such success has been obtained, will demonstrate or assist in shewing the most certain and effectual means for improving and consolidating these valuable possessions.

The past history of British India, environed as it has always appeared with wonders, and constantly presenting fresh and startling incidents, has hitherto failed to satisfy the reader, who has felt that much was left untold, and undeveloped. Our author tends to elucidate this, and demonstrates in the early career of the East India Company, how its reputation and capital were worked for other than its own interest. Sometimes the crown, sometimes the ministers, and again a clique of its directors assumed all control for specific purposes, and proportionately with such struggling for peculation and patronage, were the legitimate objects of the Company prostrated, while whatever mishaps or calamities ensued, the public knew but one object to censure, and unmitigated blame fell, deservedly or not, upon the unfortunate Company.

The volume before us has a tendency to set matters right, in many instances, and totally removes the obscurity which environs several early transactions with India,

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placing at the same time the culpability of many misdeeds upon the right persons, so that the public have now a fairer opportunity of judging of the past, and estimating the progress of the future British rule in India. The establishment of the British power in India is one of the most startling events recorded in the pages of history, and teaches this moral lesson,—that the force of example, when based upon truthfulness and integrity, can effect as great and potent ends, as the force of arms, or the subtlety of diplomacy.

It is too well known to be necessary to dilate upon, that the first appearance of the English in India was as humble suppliants, and in accordance with their prayers, a portion of land was granted to them for the purpose of erecting a factory thereon, so that they might trade and barter with the natives upon a similar footing to the Spaniards, Portuguese and others already established in the country. The application for, and concession of, this grant of land was brought about by the following circumstances: A traveller named Stephens, having some years previously communicated the nature of the Indian trade, it was determined by a body of London merchants, that one Mildenhall should journey thither, to obtain from the Emperor of Delhi—the great Aurungzebe—authority to trade in his dominions. To effect this, Mildenhall departed in 1599, and reached Agra overland in 1603, from whence, after an expiration of three years, he returned, satisfied with his endeavours. It does not however appear that any substantive advantage resulted from this journey, but it certainly paved the way for the subsequent visit of Captain Hawkins, who reached Surat in 1609, bearing a letter from King James to the Emperor. He was well received, and had permission to establish a factory at Surat. But this promise, as oft broken as renewed, so disgusted Hawkins, that he sailed homewards in 1612, leaving the King's letter, to which the Emperor did not condescend to reply.

The only advantage resulting from Hawkins' voyage, was the promise alluded to, respecting the establishment of a factory at Surat. This was eventually effected by a daring mariner named Best, who, despite the impediment and resistance offered him, boldly proceeded to the promised settlement, upon which the Emperor transmitted a firman, that provided for the residence of an English plenipotentiary at Surat, and an authority for his countrymen to trade fully, openly, and without impediment. Best being as shrewd as he was determined, well knew that this concession was produced more through fear than any other cause,

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and thence determined to avail himself of so favorable an opportunity, and demanded and obtained a ceremonious acknowledgment from the native authorities. This, while it produced marked effects upon the native population, to a certain extent paralysed the energies of the Spanish and Portuguese, who had hitherto been most strenuous antagonists, because they naturally feared that the English would destroy their lucrative monopoly in the Indian trade.

Affairs having succeeded according to Best's expectation, he immediately availed himself of his authority, by forthwith establishing the long desired factory, and having accomplished this, he returned home in 1613, having laid the foundation of a sure and profitable trade. Best was ably succeeded by Captain Downton, who, upon his arrival at Surat in 1615, found but three factors, as they were then termed, who had been appointed by his predecessor. Intrigue or interest had caused the dispersion of the remainder. Downton's measures produced much animosity towards him from European interests, and considerable native injustice. These, coupled with the unhealthiness of the climate, caused his death in the ensuing August. He was a vigorous and talented man, and perfected the arrangement connected with the factory, or as it was then termed "The English House," which he placed under the management of a head factor named Kerridge. Hitherto all transactions with native powers had been carried on by the Company's Agent, but it was now resolved to try the effect of a Royal Mission, for which purpose Sir Thomas Roe left England on the 6th of March, 1615, and arrived at Surat on the 24th of the ensuing September. The object of this embassy was twofold; to arrange a definite treaty, and recover a large amount of money alleged to be owing by the courtiers and ministers of the Emperor. Roe's reception was as gracious as could be expected, yet the terms of his treaty were generally rejected, and, much to his mortification, he discovered that the factors of Surat threw every impediment in his way. Foreign and native interest he was prepared to encounter, but that of his own countrymen surprised and chagrined him. Eventually this opposition was withdrawn, and Roe returned, having recovered all bribes, extortions and debts, and further obtained permission to establish another factory at Baroch.

Weighing the results of this embassy, it must be confessed that Roe's diplomacy was highly creditable to him, and his abilities strongly recommended him to the then reigning Sovereign Jehangheer, who, unlike most Oriental potentates, regarded less the minister than the man, and much less the presents

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than the mental accomplishments of the ambassador, whose learning and affability attracted the good will and respect of all. The Flat that conveyed Roe to his destination, was commanded by a then so called "General" Keeling, who endeavoured to found a factory at Cranganor under the auspices of the ruler of that district, but being viewed rather as fit objects for extortion than encouragement, the factors availed themselves of the first favorable opportunity of escaping with their property to Calicut. Thus was established the factory, whose looms soon obtained an European celebrity, which they deservedly retained, until British skill and capital removed the seat of manufacture from the vicinity of Bombay to Manchester.

In reference to Sir Thomas Roe, with whose conduct the Company were so well pleased upon his return to England, our author remarks, "They paid him the compliment of offering 'him an honorary seat in their Court of Committees, and more 'substantially rewarded him with a pension of two hundred 'pounds per annum. He afterwards obtained a seat in Par-'liament where he supported the Company's interests."

For several years after Best, Downton and Roe, we have, and perhaps fortunately, no authentic documents upon which reliance can be placed, but this much is certain that debauchery and peculation of the most flagrant character usurped the place of good Government. The oldest despatch of the Surat factory is dated July 26th, and it affords little information, but from other sources we learn that the Company's Agents were then negotiating with the Emperor and King of Golconda, for an extension of their trade to Hindostan. Surat having by this time risen into considerable importance, they were desirous of extending their commercial pursuits to other and more distant parts of India, and for the purpose of more effectually adding weight and importance to the residents at their factory, the principal was termed the "Chief of the Honorable Company of English Merchants trading to the East." When or how this title was obtained is enveloped in obscurity, but the use of the word Honorable may be fairly assumed as a privilege, granted by the Crown as an acknowledgment for past, and encouragement for future public services.

As already remarked, Surat at this period had become a position of considerable importance, and was destined to be the point of radiation, from whence the commercial spirit of Britain should thrust forward its then infantine powers.[c] Situated on the left bank of the Tapti, at a distance of fourteen miles from the sea, the vessels which then navigated the Indian Ocean easily ascended the river, and found secure anchorage off the town.

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From remote antiquity it had been celebrated for the number and wealth of its inhabitants, the beauty of its gardens, and fertility of its soil, while the concourse of foreigners in the place amply testified to the importance of its commerce. As tributaries to her, Surat claimed the produce of Scinde, Guzerat, and the Malabar Coast, together with the entire trade of Africa, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, while the vales of Cashmere and distant lands of Cathay alike contributed to the markets of this emporium. Notwithstanding, however, all these advantages, residence at Surat was not unmixed with annoyance and hardships. The Native Governor inflicted his misrule equally upon his fellow subjects and the Europeans, and to secure his favor, the latter had recourse to all sorts of artifices and corruption.

About the year 1636, Methwold, who was President, returned to England, and was succeeded by one Fremlen and the latter by Francis Benton, but of these Presidents few authentic accounts remain, and these few generally devoid of interest. Benton's monument in the cemetry at Surat bears testimony to his exertions, and declares that "for five years he discharged his duties with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity." Then followed Captain Jeremy Blackman whose appointment is dated 1651, with a salary of £500, but a strict inhibition from private trade, which had hitherto been the principal source of emolument to the Company's servants.

We may here retrace our steps to shew that the successes of the first Company were not free from bitter and protracted annoyances. Their prosperity naturally woke up a spirit of the emulation, and a desire upon the part of other enterprising men to participate in such advantages. After various applications, Sir William Courtend obtained from Charles I. a license to engage in the Indian trade, and forthwith Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney were despatched in 1636, under the protection of the British Crown. Weddel, upon his arrival, addressed the President and Council of Surat, and at the same time forwarded a copy of the King's letter, in which His Majesty avowed that he had a particular interest in the New Company, and requested the President, if required, to render them any assistance. Weddel took the opportunity at the same time of expressing an earnest hope, that the present enterprise would not be viewed unfavorably, and that both Companies might operate with a friendly regard to each other. But "the President having received no information from 'his superiors in England, either could or would not believe 'that a New Company had been formed, and desired to know

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'what privileges had been granted to the New Company. 'The following year he received a letter from the Secretary 'of State, shewing that there was no doubt about the innovation." The receipt of this official communication spread the wildest consternation among the factors and *employés* of the old Company, and was followed by the deepest despondency. Absolute ruin was predicted, and every desire manifested to impede the success of their opponents. But the wisdom of the Home Directory frustrated this violent outburst, and left the choleric factors and their abettors to vent their spleen and indignation anew, when they discovered that "the In- 'novators were trading at Rajapoor, which they regarded as 'their domain, and that they had established factories at Bat- 'ticolo and Carwar."

From the foundation of the New Company until the year 1650, the spirit of contention embittered the officers of both corporations, and this militated against working to advantage. It was therefore determined to bury all animosity in oblivion, and an agreement was entered into, to trade with India upon joint account, and to the exclusion of their countrymen generally, many of whom termed "Interlopers," had pursued a lucrative though hazardous traffic in those parts, which it was arranged between the Companies should now be suppressed. During the contention of the two Companies, if the progress of events frustrated their exertions in one direction, accident, as commonly happens, favoured them in another, and laid the foundation of a trade the most important of any.

Somewhere about the year 1636, the Emperor of Delhi having a beloved daughter seriously ill, was informed by one of the nobles of his Court, of the skill exhibited by European practitioners of medicine, and was induced by this nobleman to apply to the President for aid in his extremity. Upon this Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the Company's Ship *Hopewell* was directed to proceed to the Court of Delhi, and render his professional services. "This he did with such success, 'that the imperial favours were liberally bestowed upon him, and 'in particular he obtained a patent, permitting him to trade, with- 'out paying any duties, throughout the Emperor's dominions." The benefit of this concession would probably have been very doubtful, had his good fortune not followed him to Bengal, where he cured a favorite mistress of the Nawab, who in gratitude confirmed all his privileges, which, says our author, were thus employed: "The generous Surgeon did not in his pros- 'perity forget his former employers, but advanced the Compa-

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'pany's interests, by contriving that his privileges should be 'extended to them. Having done so, he wrote an account of 'his success to the factory of Surat, and the next year a profit-'able trade was opened in the rich provinces of Bengal." Thus the trade of two out of the three Presidencies was established, became a splendid monopoly, and laid the foundation of the pre-eminence now enjoyed.

The natural advantages of Bombay had not escaped notice, and "the Company had hoped to gain possession of it so early 'as 1627. In that year, a joint expedition of Dutch and 'English ships, under the command of a Dutch General 'Harman Van Speult, had sailed from Surat with the object of 'forming an establishment here, as well as of attacking the 'Portuguese in the Red Sea. This plan was defeated by the 'death of Van Speult, but in 1653, the President and Council 'of Surat again brought the subject under the consideration 'of the Directors, pointing out how convenient it would be to 'have some insular and fortified station, which might be 'defended in times of lawless violence, and giving it as their 'opinion that, for a consideration, the Portuguese would allow 'them to take possession of Bombay and Bassein." This suggestion, which was submitted to Cromwell, remained unacted upon. But in 1661, the Portuguese Government, upon the marriage of the Infanta Catherina with Charles the II., ceded the long wished-for island to England as the Infanta's dower. Accordingly a fleet of five ships, under the Earl of Marlborough, arrived in the harbour on the 18th September of that year.

But the Portuguese, notwithstanding the presence of a viceroy to see the articles of cession strictly observed, were unwilling to resign a place so richly endowed by nature, and excepted to the English demand, finally refusing to arrange any terms or listen to any proposals. Marlborough not having the means of reducing the place, was compelled to relinquish the island, and determined upon returning to England, previously to which he offered to assign Bombay to the President and Council of Surat, but as they had no authority to accept, or means of obtaining the mastery of the place, the offer was declined. After Marlborough's departure, the Portuguese permitted Cook, who commanded the few soldiers remaining of the body that had been brought out, to occupy the place, but subject to such humiliating terms, that they were never ratified by either of the Crowns interested in the matter, and the English Government were so dissatisfied with Cook's measures that they deposed him, and demanded satisfaction for damages sustained, in consequence of the island not

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having been delivered over, according to the original agreement.

Cook reluctantly yielded the Government to his appointed successor, Sir Gervase Lucas, an old warrior and devoted royalist, whose nomination was of great assistance in establishing British authority among the Portuguese, who, during Cook's time, had been accustomed to dictate their terms and requirements. Indeed in one instance, because there was hesitation exhibited, respecting the grant of a considerable tract of land for the Jesuit's College at Bandora, they threatened to resort to arms. This threat, upon assuming office, Lucas pronounced an act of treason, and declared all the Jesuit's lands to be forfeited to the crown. Upon this Cook declared he would join the Portuguese in an attack on Bombay, but his threats were treated with contempt, and himself denounced as a rebel. Sir Gervase arrived at his seat of authority on the 5th of November, 1666, and died on the 21st of the ensuing May. He was succeeded by Captain Gary ; this gentleman, beyond being skilled in several languages, we have little information.

Regarding the acquisition of Bombay not having proved commensurate with the expectations of the King, he became anxious to rid himself of a worse than useless territory, and by royal charter conferred it upon the Honorable Company, the terms of the transfer being simply that the Company held the island of the King " in free and common soccage, as of the Manor of East ' Greenwich, upon payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold, ' on the 30th of September in each year." At the same time all stores, arms and ammunition upon the island, with requisite powers for its defence and government, were granted to the Company. Upon receipt of the copy of the charter in 1668, Sir George Oxenden, who had been appointed President of Surat in 1662, agreed to assume forthwith the Government of Bombay. But feeling that the officers of the crown might demur to the Company's supercession, and the supremacy of a few mercantile agents at a distance of two hundred miles from them, they proceeded with much care to avoid offence, and despatched one of their number—Mr. Goodyer—to explain incidental matters, and endeavour to effect amicable arrangements. Goodyer, who had previously been on terms of intimacy with Deputy-Governor Gary, admirably accomplished his task, and shortly after Gary formally surrendered his trust, and was succeeded by Captain Young.

Some few years elapsed before the importance of Bombay became manifest. At length it was regarded as a valuable acqui-

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sition, being well situated, with a safe and commodious harbour, besides which it offered direct means for effecting communications with the English factories in Persia, on the Malabar Coast, and with the Spice Islands. But above all, small as the territory was, the English were the sole masters, and wholly removed from the annoyance of native official cupidity, and in the event of a war with the Dutch, by holding Bombay, they were enabled adequately to protect their servants. Accordingly the Company determined to augment the military strength, increase the population and develope its resources. Scarcely had the fortifications and the military arrangements been completed, when, on the 20th of February, 1673, a Dutch fleet arrived for the purpose of taking the island by surprise, but when the Commander Rickloffe Van Goen discovered the well constructed batteries mounted with heavy ordnance, and supported by a part of light field pieces, together with three large *Men-of-War*, and five French Ships ready to assist the English, he quietly disappeared, and shortly after a peace was concluded between the belligerent powers, which left Bombay free from further annoyance in that quarter.

" By way of increasing the population and developing the
' resources of the island, attempts were made to establish manu-
' factures, and directions were given for inviting spinners and
' weavers to settle. Every legitimate influence was to be em-
' ployed so as to attract them from the interior, and cotton
' was to be served out to them from the Company's stores that
' they might convert it into cloth without any outlay of money.
' The Court, having heard that the manufacture of cotton stock-
' ings by knitting was successfully carried on at Goa, required
' that the same should be attempted at Bombay, and that four
' or five hundred pairs should at once be forwarded to England.
' Not only the poorer sort of artisans, but opulent tradesmen
' were also induced to settle by promise of liberal treatment and
' religious toleration. As a first step, a regular engagement was
' entered into with Nima Parak, an eminent Banya residing in
' the city of Diu, and formal articles were agreed to on both
' sides. On the part of the Company it was promised that all
' the Banya caste, who might remove to the island, should enjoy
' the free exercise of their religion within their own houses, and
' should be secured from all molestations. It was stipulated
' that no Englishman, Portuguese, or other Christian, nor any
' Mussulman should be permitted to live within the private
' grounds of the Banyas, to enter them for the purpose of
' slaughtering animals, or to offer their persons the slightest
' injury, or indignity. If any should in opposition to these

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'regulations offend them by intruding upon their privacy, the 'Governor or his Deputy should, on receiving a complaint to 'that effect, cause the offenders to be severely punished. The 'settlers were to be allowed to burn their dead, and to observe 'all such ceremonies as were customary at their weddings, 'lastly it was engaged that none who professed their religion, 'of whatever age, sex or condition they might be, should be 'compelled to embrace Christianity, nor that any should be 'forced against their wills to carry burdens."

These wise and humane stipulations were followed by other steps for the encouragement of trade. Docks were to be constructed, a mint established, and two Courts of Judicature opened in 1670, while the Court of Directors recommended the embodiment of a regular police. Besides these military and commercial efforts, there were nevertheless shadows darkening the back ground, and over-clouding all the praiseworthy exertions of the Government. The settlement had acquired the reputation of being the focus of pestilence and disease—a very plague spot, three years being the estimated duration of European life there, and of every five hundred English who arrived, not one hundred was supposed to leave it. The catalogue of diseases chronicles many of those now prevalent, and affords, amongst the rest, unmistakeable evidence of the existence of cholera at this period. The Portuguese practitioners termed it, "The Chinese Death," or cholic. 'It was divided, according to their system, into four kinds. 'The first was simple cholic, its symptoms severe griping. The 'second was attended with diarrhœa as well as pain. The 'third were pain and vomiting, while purging, vomiting and 'intense pain were symptoms of the last kind, and generally 'brought its victim's sufferings to an end in twenty-four hours."

Different causes were assigned for the severe mortality which undoubtedly was experienced, but it would appear that intemperance and debauchery contributed more sufferers than any other source. In writing of this the Deputy Governor remarks "strong drink and flesh is mortal, which to make an 'English soldier leave off is almost as difficult as to make him 'divest his nature, nay, though present death be laid before him 'as the reward of the ill-gratifying his palate. This is the true 'cause of our Bombay bills of mortality having 'swelled so 'high.'" To provide the sick with good attendance and wholesome diet, a hospital was erected forthwith, and the decrease in the ensuing year's mortality, was attributed to the improved mode of treatment and accommodation. Constantly surrounded by sickness and calamity, it is satisfactory to know that the religious

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requirements of the community were not left unheeded, in the transition from inertness to activity which characterized the period. The usual place for celebrating Divine worship was a hall in the fort, but this being considered inadequate, it was suggested that a large and appropriate building should be erected, where natives and foreigners, having the opportunity of witnessing the method of conducting the service of the Church of England, might possibly become converts. The idea was warmly supported by the President Sir George Oxenden, and a large sum—upwards of five thousand pounds collected, but the progress of the new building was intercepted by the invasion of the Siddis, and public attention being diverted from the object, the subscribed capital, when required at a subsequent period, was nowhere to be found, some official having appropriated it to his own use. But though this for a time threw a very praiseworthy intention to one side, it did not at all influence the steady progress which religion had made.

The invasion to which we have just alluded, formed another of the difficulties which had to be overcome, nor were the characters or desires of these antagonists either estimable or easy to comply with. "These Siddis were troublesome, dangerous 'neighbours, and it is difficult to say whether their enmity or 'their friendship was most to be dreaded. In 1672, they anchor-'ed with a fleet off Bombay, and requested the President's per-'mission to enter the harbour, and ravage the districts belonging 'to Sivaji. Their application was refused, but having afterwards 'relieved Jingira, which was besieged by Sivaji, and routed the 'Mahratta troops, they returned to Bombay, so inflated by suc-'cess, that they entered the harbour without thinking it necessary 'to ask any one's consent. The President received them with 'constrained civility, for he was in an awkward predicament. 'On the one side the Siddi urged him to form a league against 'Sivaji, on the other side Sivaji vowed that, if this was done, 'he would instantly invade Bombay. It was lucky the Siddi 'was reasonable enough to take this dilemma into considera-'tion. He promised to abstain from hostilities against the 'Mahratta districts which lay along the harbour, and prepared 'to take his departure."

If the Company at the outset had difficulties to encounter at Bombay, they were by no means less harrassed at their original settlement of Surat. The Mahratta chief Sivaji, just mentioned, gave great anxiety to the English factors, and "at length on the '5th of January, 1664, he entered Surat. Such of the inhabi-'tants as were able made their escape, the helpless native

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'Governor shutting himself in the castle which was protected 'by English cannon, and leaving the Mahratta robber to 'plunder the city at his convenience. Both the English 'and Dutch factors stood upon the defensive, the conduct 'of the former being so gallant, that they not only held 'their own, but saved the property of many natives. En- 'couraged by his successful pillage, Sivaji again on the 3rd of 'October, 1670, entered Surat, and ransacked the city, and 'arrested for the time all commercial undertakings. This, al- 'though it caused the English to suffer severely from the hosti- 'lity of the Mahratta usurper, constrained them to treat him 'with consideration and respect. Even when he was actu- 'ally engaged in assailing Surat, the factors of Bombay felt 'so dependent on his country for their grain and fire-wood, 'that they addressed him in conciliatory language, and inter- 'changed civilities with him."

Fortunately about 1672, the factors' wishes and Sivaji's interest tended to an amicable arrangement, and a treaty was adopted, by which, while peace was secured, the British hoped to obtain compensation for losses that had been sustained. Sivaji's conquests having exalted him in the eyes of his Mahratta followers, his ambition was gratified by his election to a throne, a ceremonial that was witnessed by Henry Oxenden, afterwards Deputy Governor of Bombay. This gentleman, aided by two other factors, arranged a treaty with the new sovereign, which afforded compensation for previous losses, and was on the whole highly favorable to the Company's interest. The arrangement left the British to contend solely with the Siddis, whose depredations in a few years were put a stop to, partly by force and arrangement. Thus far native opposition was withdrawn, but there still remained the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French as competitors, and it is to be regretted that every endeavour to negotiate with these was frustrated by cupidity and envy, till at last they respectively sank under the weight of their own machinations, perversity, and want of judgment.

It may be imagined, with Native and European antagonism, with disease and political opposition, that the British had plenty to occupy them, but there were, besides all these, still further annoyances in the shape of pirates, whose atrocities were dreadful inflictions, and, though last, not the least of their anxieties arose from the Interlopers or English Merchants, who traded upon their own account. To arrest their trading propensities, "strict injunctions were received from home that such 'should be seized, when taken, their ships and cargoes were to 'be confiscated, one-half the value was appropriated to His

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'Britannic Majesty's use, and the other half according to their 'Charter to the Company." This, it should be remarked, was practised at a time, when the Company proclaimed that free trade was permitted, and were enjoying with impunity exclusive privileges. But like most monopolies, it swerved from public to private benefit, and aroused indignation from the impediments it threw in the way of commerce, and gave rise to the proposition for the establishment of a New Company, which, though divided at first, eventually produced effects to which in their order we shall advert.

Bad as were these political and commercial grievances to endure, the internal affairs of the factories added much to the general annoyance. Temporary successes were regarded as justifying extravagances, which, in their turn, introduced vicious principles and public outrages. Some idea of the absurdities of the times may be drawn from the pomp with which the President used to move about. "He had a standard-'bearer and body-guard, composed of a Sergeant and double 'file of English soldiers. Forty natives also attended him at 'dinner, each course was ushered in by the sound of trumpets, 'and his ears were regaled by a band of music. Whenever 'he left his private rooms, he was preceded by his attendants 'with silver wands. On great occasions, when he issued from 'the factory, he appeared on horse-back, or in a palanquin, or 'a coach drawn by milk white oxen. Red horses with silver 'bridles followed, and an umbrella of state was carried before 'him." This pomp and extravagance the Directors wisely strove to check, and they distinctly informed their President, that it would afford them much greater satisfaction, were he to suppress such unmeaning shew and ostentation. And the more effectually to compass their wishes, they reduced his salary to three hundred pounds a year, and dignified him simply with the title of Agent.

As a matter of course, follies such as those exhibited by the President were sure to find imitators, and were enlarged upon by subordinates; and hence with inadequate means, ill restrained temperaments, and exciting drinks, all sorts of evils were engendered. Accordingly, we find, without surprise, one Thorpe, an Officer in the Company's Navy, seizing a boat and crew of the Siddis for the purpose of extortion; and another drunken Naval Captain, while on board one of the Siddis' vessels as a guest, drawing his sword upon his host, and, on returning to his ship, firing a broad-side at his imaginary foe. These two incidents prove the entire want of control existing, and leave no room for wonder at native indignation towards the Company's Officers.

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Farther on we learn that a vain glorious fellow named Pitt, who had been removed from the desk to the drill, gave the President an infinitude of trouble, while a reckless Corporal caused the explosion of thirty-five barrels of gunpowder, and greatly damaged the new fortifications of Bombay, by throwing a lighted bandolier up into the air.

Thus, regardless alike whether the Company were embroiled with native powers, or injured by waste, and discipline defied, their subordinates pursued their mad and dissipated courses, which too frequently involved the credit of their employers by the way in which they allowed matters to be hushed-up. As an instance, a duel fought between Mr. Hornidge and Captain Minchin had its origin at some wild orgie, "and," as President Augur remarked, "was the effect of that accursed Bombay 'punch, to the shame, scandal and ruin of the nation and reli-'gion. The combatants were confined to their quarters, and 'suspended from the service, pending a reference to Surat, but 'as the Deputy Governor interceded for them, they were par-'doned after paying a small fine." Laws, we here perceive, were viewed as subservient to official favoritism rather than as a means of suppressing offences, but it must in justice to the Company be admitted that, as far as home control was concerned, their exertions were directed to a purer administration of justice. Still the difficulties in making a distant Government conform to home regulations were very great and of proportionate tediousness. The mal-administration of the law was accompanied by the inefficiency of the army, for, after every arrival of troops, a fearful mortality prevailed, chiefly occasioned by excessive drinking, to which vice gambling amongst officers and men was superadded. These propensities, with the means and opportunities of enjoying them, were not likely to amend the condition of a class who, we have the authority of Clive for saying, were drafted from the refuse of our jails, and commanded by "Officers seldom above the rank of Lieutenant, without order, 'discipline or military ardour."

Another feature of considerable importance—the disproportion of the sexes, had at length attracted the attention of the authorities, and, at the suggestion of Augur, a number of gentlewomen and females of the working-class were induced to migrate; but the former having been injudiciously selected, made but few alliances at Bombay, while the latter, having comparative luxury at their command, became loose and licentious. An observer, writing of these females, remarks that, "he was shock-'ed to see how sickly their children were in consequence of the 'free and easy way in which the mothers lived, and their inve-

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'terate habit of taking strong liquors." This importation of females, far from realizing the wished-for end, proved generally to be a failure, and involved much personal suffering, and brought besides great obloquy upon the Government and its enthusiastic originator. It might fairly have been inferred that, after so many troubles, domestic and foreign, some little respite would now occur, but it was ruled otherwise. The pecuniary embarrassments of the Home executive demanded both speedy and effectual retrenchment to relieve them. The accomplishment of this was felt by, and offended all their servants, Civil and Military, European and Native, but the military, it was admitted, suffered most, and had many just causes of complaint. These eventually led to a meeting, which was fortunately suppressed by the promptitude of the local authorities, who tempered clemency with firmness.

But a few years later the retrenchments led to a more serious result. The expense of fortifying Bombay, not having been covered by the revenue, the Company became burdened with debt, and determined still further to reduce the number of their Military, and consequently the entire "establishment was 'reduced to two Lieutenants, two Ensigns, four Sergeants, four 'Corporals and a hundred and eighty Privates. No batta was 'to be paid the detachment at Surat, the troop of horse 'was disbanded, and Keigwin, its Commandant, dismissed the 'service." Keigwin, who was a man of energy and decision, forthwith went to England and remonstrated against such unjust and impolitic proceedings, and made such an impression on the Court of Directors, that he was invited to return and lend the aid of his experience to the Company in their embarrassed position. He immediately complied, and would doubtless have arranged every thing satisfactorily, but to his chagrin, in twelve months after his return, he found the Home Authorities had revoked a portion of his official control, and reduced his pay to a miserable pittance. Disgusted with such treatment, and having a strong public sympathy, he declared his secession from the Company, and that the inhabitants of Bombay were subjects only of the King of England. In this declaration he was supported by the majority of the Residents. 'When the intelligence reached 'England, that Bombay had revolted and the President had not 'been able to reduce it to order, the King commanded the Court 'of Directors to appoint a Secret Committee of Enquiry. Upon 'their report his Majesty sent a mandate under his sign 'manual to Keigwin, requiring him to deliver up the island, and 'offering a general pardon to all, except the ring-leaders. It 'was further declared that if Keigwin and his followers

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'offered any resistance, all should be denounced as rebels and 'traitors." At the same time a reward was offered for Keigwin and his associates.

Harsh measures were rendered unnecessary, by the immediate recognition of the King's authority by the whole of the population. Keigwin, having obtained a promise of free pardon for himself and supporters, surrendered the island to Sir Thos. Grantham on the 12th of November, 1684. "Such 'was a revolt which happily began and ended without blood-'shed. Alarming as it was, and dangerous to the existence 'of Anglo Indian power, it forms an episode in our history of 'which we are not ashamed. Keigwin emerges from the 'troubled sea of rebellion with a reputation for courage, honor 'and administrative capacity; on the other hand, the clemency 'of the Crown and Company is worthy all admiration." Some few cases of hardship were doubtless experienced, but upon the whole it was a bold sedition nobly forgiven, and germinated a juster treatment of the officials, without compromising the integrity of the Company.

Upon the suppression of Keigwin's rebellion, Sir John Wyburn, from political motives, was dispatched as Deputy Governor to Bombay. But John Child, the Governor, finding the new Deputy too independent to lend himself to the perpetration of the various schemes of aggression which had been concocted by Sir Josiah Child and his brother Directors at home, means were employed for depriving Wyburn of his appointment, of which fortunately he did not live to experience the mortification. The aggression here referred to was the first attempt on the part of the Company, to exercise authority or dictate terms to the native rulers. This spirit evoked by Dutch example and fostered by Sir Josiah Child, was now destined to break forth, and little else was thought of than strengthening the military body, and conferring great advantages upon this hitherto neglected portion of the public service, and further, Bombay was ordered to be fortified as strongly as money could make it.

At this period, acting under the influence of the grossest mis-statements and blind infatuation, "the Court of Direc-'tors pompously announced that they were determined to make 'war, not only on the Nawab of Bengal, but, in the sequel, upon 'the Emperor himself. Nor was this sufficient, they actually 'ordered their General to seize the goods of the King of Siam, 'Bantam and Zombi as reparation for injuries received." These designs were confidentially conveyed to their General, who was nothing loath to act up to the spirit of such instructions, he and his brother Sir Josiah, having been the principal

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instigators of this piece of absurd and dangerous policy. Accordingly, as might have been anticipated, we shortly after find that the Emperor Aurungzebe became indignant at several piratical acts of the English on the coast of Bengal, and still more so when he learnt that his Governor at Surat had been insulted by the English Authorities. Upon demanding from Child some explanation, the latter, who had well studied his part, threw all the blame upon the Interlopers, and in his turn made numerous demands from the Governor of Surat, the concession of which was the only means of avoiding war. As might have been anticipated, his demands were treated with contempt, and "then assuming that justice was on his side, he 'waited until he had a fair opportunity of resorting to vio-'lence. The appointment of a fresh Governor at Surat, known 'as having a friendly inclination towards the English, induced 'a hope that amicable arrangements might have been effected. 'But this personage was not so yielding and gentle as had 'been expected, for, on the 26th of December, 1688, he seized 'and imprisoned the factors, Harris and Gladman, and ordered 'all the goods of the Company to be sold, and offered a large 'reward to any who would take Child dead or alive."

The General on his part having failed by negotiation to release Harris and Gladman, now exhibited his real character, and captured several richly freighted native ships, besides forty vessels laden with provisions for the Mogul Army, yet at the same time he wrote to Aurungzebe that his intentions were pacific. Upon this, the Emperor ordered the confiscation of all the property belonging to the English at Surat. Child, inflated with his new character, notwithstanding his letter to the Emperor, behaved with great arrogance to his Admiral the Siddi, "and told him plainly, that if his fleet ventured to sea, 'he would assume their intentions as hostile and deal with 'them as enemies." Instead, however, of carrying out this threat, and adopting the only means for securing the safety of Bombay, he merely acted upon the defensive, and endeavoured to throw the onus of his culpability upon the inactivity of the English Presidents in Bengal and Madras, who, by his folly, were placed in similarly ridiculous situations to himself.

Child, though in truth with vanity sufficient to have rushed upon this or indeed any other undertaking, had neither the skill, nor the courage to enforce it, while his conduct and capabilities received neither support nor respect from his fellow settlers. Accordingly in this comparatively isolated position we soon find him writing in a style of misgiving to the Court of

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Directors, and hoping, by a change of conduct, to delude his adversaries.

"This duplicity and repentance were alike too late, Child's 'arrogance and his seizure of the provisions intended for the 'army of Yákéet Káhn, the Siddi, made that officer a willing 'agent to execute the Emperor's wrath. With an unaccountable 'infatuation, the English Governor had neglected to strengthen 'the fortifications of Bombay, although the Court of Directors 'had so urgently reminded him that this was necessary, and 'on the 14th of February, 1639, the Siddi landed at Sewri with 'twenty or twenty-five thousand men, and at one o'clock in 'the morning three guns from the castle apprized the in-'habitants of their danger. There might be seen European 'and Native women rushing with their children from their 'houses, and seeking a refuge within the fort. Next morning 'the Siddi marched to Mazagan, where was a small fort mount-'ing fourteen guns, which the English abandoned with such 'haste, that they kept behind them eight or ten chests of trea-'sure, besides arms and ammunition. Here the Siddi established 'his head-quarters and dispatched a small force to take posses-'sion of Mahim fort also deserted."

"The following day the enemy advanced, and the General 'ordered Captain Penn, with two companies, to drive them 'back, but he and his little party were defeated. Thus the 'Siddi became master of the whole island, with the exception 'of the castle and a small tract extending about half-a-mile 'to the southward of it. He raised batteries on Dongari Hill, 'and placed one within two hundred yards of the fort. All 'persons on whom the English authorities could lay hands 'were pressed into their service." Thus passed the months from April to September.

"During the monsoon, the Siddi obtained supplies from the 'interior and from the Jesuits of Bandora, who paid a heavy 'reckoning, for thus assisting the enemy, at the end of the war. 'Their property was seized, and provisions were extremely 'scarce in the English quarters until the monsoon was over. 'But then the Company's cruizers being able to put to sea, 'were so successful in capturing vessels and supplies belong-'ing to the Mogul's subjects, that distress was alleviated. Still 'the danger was imminent. The Siddi's army was increased to 'forty thousand fighting men, and the English troops which 'never amounted to more than two thousand five hundred, dared 'not venture to met them in the field."

Child readily perceived that negotiation was his only resource, and found that the most abject submission would alone

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assuage the Emperor's wrath. He accordingly dispatched two envoys named Weldon and Navar to the Mogul Court. They were treated with the utmost indignity, and after much suffering were admitted to the Emperor's presence as culprits, prostrate, and with their hands tied behind them. He listened to their entreaties, and at length consented to an accommodation on condition, "That all monies due from them to his subjects 'should be paid, that recompense should be made for such 'losses as the Moguls had sustained, and that the hateful Sir 'John Child should leave India before the expiration of nine 'months." Thus terminated this unfortunate act of bombast, by which the Company, both in money and reputation, was a severe sufferer, as well in England as in India. Besides which, "the British Nation felt that a disgrace had been 'inflicted upon them which they attributed to the Com-'pany's Resident. This Company, it was argued, is clearly 'unfit to represent English interests in India. The pub-'lic, and what was more to the purpose, the House 'of Commons also approved the suggestion." Child through the whole of his career apparently received the cordial support of the Company, but it is now generally known that this support, and the various testimonials he received, emanated solely through the influence of his brother, who was still the Chairman, and the more candid writers of the day, universally condemn the whole of Child's proceedings. Fortunately for him, he did not long survive to experience the humiliation resulting from a total overthrow of his rash proceedings, and his death much facilitated arrangements with native powers.

Harris who with several other factors had been released after great sufferings, succeeded to the Presidency of Surat and Governorship of Bombay. He was a weak incompetent person, and was soon relieved of his appointment by Annesley Vaux, who, after two years' service, was himself dismissed for not, (as second Judge, to which honorable position he had been appointed) straining, or rather violating, the law against interlopers. In 1692, Captain, afterwards Sir John Goldesborough, was appointed Commissary General, with absolute power to dismiss all or any servants whom he might consider unqualified or negligent. His death in 1694, afforded an opening for the appointment of Sir John Gayer, a man of good character and ability, but whose efforts were frustrated by events beyond his control. Orington, who was a Chaplain in the Navy, has left us some very unsatisfactory descriptions of men and manners existing in

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India at this period, which, though changing, were not improving. His enquiries respecting the factory, or, as he calls it the lodge, at Surat, afford the following interesting particulars: The building was rented of the Emperor at sixty pounds a year, and about forty Europeans resided within the walls The President was allowed three hundred pounds a year, and, as the prohibition against private trade had been cancelled, he and the other chief factors could accumulate considerable wealth in a few years. The Council was composed of an Accountant, Storekeeper and Purser Marine, in addition to the President. After these, ranked the Secretary, but it was tacitly regarded amongst the factors as a rule of courtesy, that the Chaplain should rank as third in the factory.

The second in Council received a hundred and twenty pounds a year, the Chaplain, as formerly, a hundred, senior factors forty pounds, junior factors fifteen pounds, and writers seven pounds. Forty or fifty peons were in attendance for general purposes, besides several others that were appointed specially to wait upon the President and each of the factors, and at the gate of the factory was a porter to see that no suspicious persons entered, and that the writers and others were within the walls at proper hours. All Europeans connected with the factory dined at the same table, where they took their places according to seniority. The dinner service was sumptuous, all the dishes, plates and drinking cups, being of massive and pure silver, and the provisions of the best quality. There were English, Portuguese and Indian cooks, so that every palate might be suited. On Sundays, and a few other days, high festival was kept, and the choicest of European and Persian wines introduced. At this period the finances of their Company were in a most embarrassed condition, but, singular to say, their servants never were in greater affluence, and their credit was sustained by advances from them, while trade was so oppressed, and weighed down with imposts, that but little could be transacted.

The climate also, Bruce remarks, instead of improving, was deemed more pestilential, and year by year disease swept away its victims with a rapidity truly alarming. Of seven or eight hundred Europeans, who inhabited Bombay before the war, not more than sixty were left, and there were but three Civilians to carry on the Company's business. It therefore became necessary to close the Courts of Admiralty and Common Law. Children suffered equally with those who arrived at maturity, not one child in twenty surviving. Many things contributed to introduce this dreadful mortality, but

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principally the badness of the water and scarcity of provisions. Indeed "in consequence of the scarcity of flesh meat, 'European sailors were required to fast one or two days in the 'week, just as good Churchmen were in England, by the writers 'of the Homilies, in order that the fisheries might not be ruined." On these days hungry tars were only permitted to eat *kichari*, a mixture of rice and split pulse; so because they conformed to the habits of the Hindus, they termed these days *banian* days, hence the derivation of a term though largely used but little understood. Dissoluteness and immorality of the most fearful and debasing kind were universally prevalent, and this added vigour to the attacks of the climate.

Alluding to these last our Author justly remarks, "It must 'be admitted that the Company did all in their power to arrest 'the progress of vice at Bombay, but, as the English nation was 'in the midst of an iniquitous career, to which the first impulse 'had been given by that mean debauchee miscalled "the Mer-'rie Monarch" and his court, it was not to be expected that a 'warning voice from London would gain respectful attention 'in India. As an earnest of their desire to secure more 'moral and religious conduct, the Directors wrote, "The 'Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committees of the East 'India Company, having been informed of the disorderly and 'unchristian conversation of some of their factors and ser-'vants in parts of India, tending to the dishonor of God, the 'discredit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and scan-'dal of the English nation, make certain rules and regula-'tions, with a view to render the religion we profess amiable 'in the sight of those heathens among whom they reside, 'and to prevent all profane swearing, and taking the name 'of God in vain by cursed oaths, all drunkenness and intemper-'ance, all fornication and uncleanness." If any persisted in committing these sins they were to be punished, and, if found incorrigible, sent to England. But of what avail could instructions like these be, when the local authorities not only tolerated the principal evil, but actually legislated for the quantity and price of those articles most freely drunk, and essential to intoxication. Thus we find, according to these regulations, a bottle of sherry was to be charged two xeraphims, and an order was published, that if any man went into a victualling house to drink punch, he might demand one quart of good Goa arak, half a pound of sugar, and half a pint of good lime water, and make his own punch, and if the bowl was not marked with the clerk of the markets' scale, then he might break the bowl, and depart without paying either for it or the punch.

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Cases of poisoning were frequent in such places. A rough kiss, or drunken jest with reference to the black attendant who concocted the drink, too often induced her to poison the liquor, and deal a demoniacal retribution to the thoughtless roysterer.

Of any sanction to these dreadful proceedings, it is but just to give the Home authorities a total acquittance; nay, more, had their instructions been supported and vigorously enforced, many of the evils and much of the dissoluteness that prevailed would have been unknown. But their instructions were disregarded and intentions frustrated, and lamentable were the consequences that resulted.

That which, however, could not be effected by the Company, public opinion soon floated across the seas, and stimulated the commercial interests at home again to raise an opposition, which in due course made its influence felt. There had long existed a body of merchants dissatisfied with the Company's monopoly, who had endeavoured to draw public indignation upon the possessors of these advantages. It may therefore be readily supposed that the indignified financial position of the Company, its mal-administration both at home and abroad, together with the degraded and debauched population of which it seemed, and was accredited, both originator and protector, furnished its adversaries with weapons of offence, not easily avoided even in those corrupt times. Accordingly in 1691, numerous petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for the dissolution of the Old, and the establishment of a New Company. These prayers, in consequence of the unsatisfactory defence made by the Company, were supported by the House of Commons, in an address to the King.

This movement having been rendered abortive, similar but more numerous petitions were presented to the Commons in 1693, which were in some degree nullified by an extensive system of bribery. There still, however, remained sufficient power to present another address to His Majesty, praying him to dissolve the Company at the expiration of three years, which, it was promised, should be considered. This reply, though deemed satisfactory to the Commons, was not so viewed by the public, consequently in the October session of the same year, addresses, not from merchants only, but from traders generally, inundated the House. In these the petitioners undertook to prove that the transactions of the Company had been a scandal to religion, a dishonor to England, a reproach to the laws, an oppression to the people, and the ruin of their trade. The ministry, in defiance of the charges, having been heavily bribed, persuaded the King to grant the Company

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a new Charter. This produced a temporary conflict between the Government and the House of Commons, the latter resisting the grant as an infringement of their peculiar rights. They further passed a resolution, that no British subject could be prevented trading to the East Indies, except by Act of Parliament. In 1695, the Commons followed up this resolution by an enquiry into the means by which the new Charter was obtained. This the King endeavoured to stop by a threat of closing the session, but the House was not to be intimidated. They appointed a committee to examine the books of the Company, and there discovered sufficient to justify articles of impeachment against the Duke of Leeds, on suspicion of largely participating in the bribery that had been practised, amounting on the whole to ninety thousand pounds. This sum had been disbursed by Sir Thomas Coke, one of the Directors, who being committed to the Tower, offered a full disclosure upon being indemnified. But the King screened the exposure of his ministers' profligacy by proroguing Parliament. This protection of the Sovereign was of little service indeed, and only aggravated matters, for public indignation ran so high, that it was deemed advisable in 1698, to dissolve the Old, and establish a New Company. Nevertheless, this was not effected without considerable opposition, for the Old Company had, independent of great interest, able advisers to support their cause. Their advocates argued, and with much truth, that the country had derived vast benefit from the trade that had been opened, that the Company having become Lord-Proprietors of St. Helena and Bombay, to deprive them of their territory, which had been conceded by Royal Charter, would be the height of injustice; the more so from their having expended large sums in the factories and fortifications, and that public justice and good policy would alike be shaken if their rights were infringed.

Remonstrances like these, supported by twenty members of the House of Lords, and many others of importance, had their effect upon the Commons, and in deference they passed a bill, which allowed the Old, or London Company to trade for three years only, to enable it to wind up its affairs. The antagonistic association was entitled "The English Company trading to the East Indies," and, to ingratiate itself with the public more thoroughly, asserted that its actuating principle was national and not exclusive. As may be imagined, these two Companies viewed each other with the greatest detestation, and the origin of the one and maintenance of the other, deriving their positions from the

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antagonism of the Commons and the Crown, furnished them with still further grounds of defiance. This conflict, little heeded at home, afforded their respective servants in India ample scope, for acting on the most pernicious principles, and causing an alternating ascendancy by no means favorable to either. But still it had the effect of shaking off the lethargy of the old, and stimulating the new Company, to introduce many innovations and improvements upon the previous method of carrying out proceedings.

In addition to the usual regulations, the Commons, much to their credit, caused to be inserted in the Charter of the New Company, which subsequently by their amalgamation, became the Charter of both, special provisions for an educational and religious establishment. "A minister and school-master were to 'be maintained in every garrison and superior factory, and a 'decent place appropriated exclusively for Divine Service. 'Moreover it was ordered that every ship of five hundred 'tons burden and upwards, should carry a Chaplain. All 'Clergymen, whether sent for duty in ships or in factories, were 'to be approved either by the Archbishop of Canterbury or 'the Bishop of London, and care was to be taken that they 'were treated with respect. It was strictly enjoined also that 'all Chaplains who went to reside in India, should learn the 'Portuguese language within one year after their arrival, and 'should also apply themselves to learn the language of the 'country, to propagate, if possible, the Protestant religion 'amongst the Gentoos in the Company's employ."

This was progress in the right direction, and disposed the public to view favorably the exertions of the New Company, which now seemed to have overcome the most prominent opposition. But the Old Company, when their open exertions failed to advance their views, silently sought for channels to overthrow their competitors, and in this they at length deemed themselves successful, for in their rivals' Charter it was provided that "all subscribers to the new stock might trade separately and on their own account." Availing themselves of these privileges, the Old resolved to subscribe largely to the funds of the New Association, and then to trade separately, when the three years allowed them should have expired. This, however, they were unable to accomplish, and whatever latent hopes had been previously entertained in 1695, were effectually dissipated, public opinion being still so adverse to them. Nevertheless, like desperate gamesters, trusting that some latent piece of fortune might come to their succour, and enable them, if not to defeat, at all events to divide with their compe-

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titors; they admonished their servants to prolong their existence by opposition, rather than to concede with grace, and dictated their views in this extraordinary language: "Two East India 'Companies could no more exist without destroying each other, 'than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom; 'that now a civil battle was to be fought between the Old and 'New Company, and that two or three years must end this 'war, as the Old or New must give way; that, being veterans, 'if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not 'doubt of victory; that if the world laughed at the pains the 'two Companies took to ruin each other, they could not help 'it, as they were on good ground and had a Charter." Similar feelings actuating both Companies, mutual opposition ensued, and after severe losses on both sides, a compromise was eventually effected, which rendered further contention useless and injudicious.

The operations of the New Company were pushed on with vigour, notwithstanding the foregoing opposition, and they despatched one Lucas to Surat as their agent, and in April 1699, forwarded to him intelligence that Parliament had sanctioned their exertions, and granted them a Charter of which they furnished him with copies. Lucas thus authorized, at once presented a copy of the Act to the President, and then in company with Bourchier, and Dr. Leckie, waited upon the native Governor, who immediately enquired into the accuracy of their representations. The President and Council were obliged to admit the genuineness of the authority, but declared that they had received no information upon the subject. The Governor's first impression was, that the factors would take advantage of this embarrassed state of things to deny their liabilities. He therefore commanded their broker to find security, that the President and Council should not leave the city, and had their shroffs maltreated to make them disclose the Company's accounts.

During this time Lucas was assiduously undermining the Old Company with the natives, by spreading reports that the King of England, and the Parliament, had withdrawn their opponents' Charter, in consequence of the disordered state of their affairs, the crimes and delinquencies of their factors, and the intemperate use which their President and Governors had made of the authority vested in them. These representations no doubt told with considerable effect, but there was another thing which gave greater weight to the operations of the New Company, viz., that of securing the services of Waite, Pitt, Mather, Annesley and Bourchier, who had been servants of the Old

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Company. They were men of great experience, if not of unassailable integrity, and now embarked zealously in the establishment of their new employers. To these secessions were added in 1699, those of Mewse and Brooke, much to the consternation of the President, Sir John Gayer, and this defection was speedily followed by the arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as President of the New Company, whom, in order that "he might 'be superior to Gayer, the King had not only knighted, but 'declared his Consul, thus placing him in a position, which the 'President of the London Company could not occupy."

Waite reached Bombay on the 11th of January, 1700. But as Gayer did not acknowledge his authority, he repaired forthwith to Surat. There also the old factors treated him with contempt and disrespect. Nothing daunted, Waite insisted at Swally that the Old Company should strike their flag as a mark of respect to His Majesty's representative, and that his own flag should be saluted as that of a Vice-Admiral. This respect not being accorded, he forthwith sent a body of men on shore to haul down the obnoxious standard, a task which they soon accomplished, but as the victors were returning with the captured flag, it was rescued by a large detachment from the factory, and reinstated in its former elevated position. This defeat discouraged or probably made Waite reflect upon his own uncertain position, for he desisted from farther open demonstrations, and availed himself of artifice and intrigue, representing to the Emperor, that his opponents were thieves and confederates of pirates, the latter of whom were abhorred for the many robberies and atrocities, which they had practised against the Emperor and his subjects; "that he was expecting four Men-of-War who 'would act under his authority, and endeavour to destroy 'all pirates; and as a climax, he caused the walls of the city to be 'placarded, warning persons from taking passes for the London 'Company's ships. These were speedily pulled down, but 'their effect was not obliterated, and by this strategy he 'inflicted a wound that was not readily healed."

The new factory was founded on a similar scale to the old, but Waite complained that his salary was not equal to that of the Old Company's General, who received five hundred pounds per annum, and had an allowance of five hundred more for the maintenance of his table. "The second in council received one 'hundred pounds per annum. The chief factors including Ben-'jamin Mewse, Chief for China, Jeremiah Bonnell, Europe 'Warehouse-keeper, John Lock, Secretary, and two mer-'chants, received sixty pounds per annum, the other five 'factors forty pounds each, fourteen writers twenty pounds

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'each, Chaplain one hundred pounds, Surgeon thirty, and 'a Genoese Cook twenty. These and ten Soldiers who receiv- 'ed four pounds each, and a suit of clothes, and a Trumpeter 'were all the Europeans upon the establishment." Notwithstanding ample means and effective arrangements, there were yet considerable obstacles to overcome. The Native Government supported the Old Company, not from any regard, but simply because they knew their characters, and were ignorant of the others who might be dangerous persons. Waite therefore continued his system of undermining his opponents, in which he eventually succeeded, and they at length came to be viewed as interlopers and connected with the coasting pirates, a statement partially correct, and therefore easily reconciled by the natives. He also promulgated a report, that their Charter would terminate in 1702, and advised a close watch upon their proceedings, otherwise they would remove with their property and avoid payment of their debts. Sir John Gayer, at this period leaving Bombay for the purpose of refuting Waite personally at Swally, gave unintentionally a favorable coloring to these calumnies, which led to calamitous results.

Conflicting interests such as these could not long exist, and as if by mutual consent, both parties looked forward to the arrival of Sir W. Norris, a Member of Parliament, who had been despatched as an Ambassador to the Emperor at the cost of the New or English Company, to obtain a firman of trade throughout the imperial dominions. His advent inspired the adherents of the New Company with great hopes; and their opponents, although anticipating favorable results, yet were apprehensive, and they were for some time undecided whether to acknowledge his authority or treat him as an enemy.

In this dilemma they applied to Sir John Gayer for advice, who counselled submission and respect, while, personally, he refrained from exclusively supporting the New Company. This behaviour which implied a judicial supremacy over the Ambassador was both unwise and unwarrantable, and afforded ground at Fort St. George, and Masulipatam, for the old factors to offer insults, and render abortive the Ambassador's intention of proceeding by way of Golconda to his destination. Frustrated in this way of reaching the court, Norris accepted an invitation from Waite to visit Surat, and had no sooner arrived than troubles and disturbances arose in every direction, both parties being equally culpable. The Ambassador now notified to Gayer that on the 28th of December, 1700, he should publicly read his diplomatic commission, and requested him, as an English subject, to attend and hear it. Upon which Gayer refused to acknowledge either him or his authority, and

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forthwith despatched an agent to court, to counteract the Ambassador's views.

Waite, incensed at this contumacy, made a formal complaint to the Native Governor, and demanded the imprisonment of all concerned in this insult to the Ambassador, but his request being unheeded, Sir W. Norris caused Wyche and Garrett, two Members of Council, to be arrested and delivered to the Governor, who detained them until they found security for their appearance when required. Nothing could have delighted the Mogul officers more than this quarrel, as it afforded them ample means for exacting bribes from both Companies, and native cupidity was not satisfied until it had pretty well fleeced them, but "as the New 'Company found the Old burdened with debts, they gained a 'victory in this contest of bribes, and induced the Governor 'to strike a blow, which, it was hoped, would be fatal to 'the old factory. This was no less than the seizure in Febru-'ary, 1701, of Sir John and Lady Gayer, several factors, their 'wives, children, soldiers and servants—in all one hundred and 'nine persons, who were kept in confinement for upwards of 'three years."

The Ambassador who had left Surat to visit the Emperor on the 27th of the previous month, disclaimed all knowledge of, or participation in this outrage, and when he demanded by whose authority it was perpetrated, Waite stepped boldly forward and declared himself responsible, stating, that he considered the interests of his employers fully justified him. Under these circumstances, Sir W. Norris was compelled to let things remain as they were for the present, for any endeavour to afford redress would implicate the New Company in the opinions of the natives, without any resulting benefit, and he therefore trusted that an early opportunity would afford itself for negociating for their release.

After a tedious journey, the Ambassador reached Panala on the 7th of April, and solicited an audience which was granted, and, to give due effect to his position, and render more secure the objects sought, a splendid procession was marshalled, and lavish presents made to the Emperor, who, in return, granted such firmans as were demanded, but subject to this condition, that security should be given for the protection of his subjects from both European and Native pirates. To this Norris reasonably objected, on the ground that it would be impossible for him to control the rovers on the Malabar Coast and Mogul dominions, but offered in lieu a lakh of Rupees, which offer was met by the following reply, "the English best 'knew the value, if it was their interest to trade, and if the

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'Ambassador refused to give an obligation, he knew the same 'way back to England that he came." Farther attempts at negotiation were considered hopeless, and Norris demanded his passports. These were sent him on the 5th of November, and he commenced his return.

Three days afterwards he was overtaken by an officer, who declared his papers were incorrect and that he must return. To this he refused, but agreed to halt for a couple of days, at the expiration of which he again set out, and on the 14th reached Birmapuri, the residence of his old enemy Gazedi Khan, whom he refused to visit. On the twenty-second day he resumed his journey, but had scarcely advanced four miles, when he was surrounded by troops, and his tents and baggage seized. Upon which he was forced to return to Birmapuri, when he protested against this outrage, but was simply informed that it was by order, and that he must wait. At length on the 5th of February, he was informed by the Khan, that the Emperor had sent a letter and sword for the King of England, and that a firman would shortly follow. On the 5th of April, Norris was allowed to depart, and reached Surat on the 12th, having been occupied six months and seven days in travelling four hundred miles, a distance which even in those days usually occupied only a month.

This embassy from which such great results were expected was, says our author " ill conceived, worse planned, and still 'worse executed. Sir W. Norris, although deficient in the cool-'ness, astuteness and decision, which were necessary to render 'diplomacy successful, yet, the failure of his embassy must 'not be laid altogether at his door. His position was one 'of extraordinary difficulty, the London Company left no stone 'unturned to disgrace him, the advice he received from the 'Presidents of the English Company in Bengal, Fort St. 'George and Surat, could only confuse and perplex him when 'he went to Masulipatam. Waite was jealous of Counsellor 'Pitt who was there, and found it was necessary for Norris to 'go to Surat, and Pitt on the other hand maintained he should 'not go to Surat, as it would be derogatory to an Ambassador 'to be flitting from port to port, instead of proceeding at once 'to court. Then when his expenses increased and he wanted 'money, Waite referred him to Pitt, and Pitt to Sir Edward 'Littleton in Bengal. He consulted these troublesome presidents 'as to the sort of firman he should procure, and each made a 'different proposition. When he had broken off engagements 'with the Mogul, all complained of him, but each had a reason 'different from the others. Waite and his Council said he had 'no right to do so without their consent. From Masulipatam

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'they plainly wrote and told him that he had been a rash, 'imprudent and an absurd stickler for forms. At Hughly, 'they charged him with being dilatory. In fact he had bitter 'enemies, false friends, and divided counsellors, it was therefore 'no marvel that he fell a victim to a combination of adverse 'circumstances, to which many a wiser and more resolute 'man than he was would have succumbed." Worn out and disgusted, he left Surat on the 18th of April, 1702, and reached the Mauritius on the 11th of July, where the ship remained until the 7th of September, and after being a few days at sea, he was attacked with dysentery, which terminated fatally. Feeling that his end was approaching, "he dictated to 'Harlwyn the treasurer of the embassy, a vindication of his 'conduct, and pathetically expressed a hope, that notwithstand-'ing his misfortunes, his memory would be respected, and 'concluded by commending all persons who had been engaged 'in the embassy to the Court's favor and protection." This done he made use of the few remaining hours to prepare himself for "another and a better world."

Existing contention seemed rather to be aggravated than allayed by the departure of Norris, the evil results of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate. But fortunately in 1700, the English Company, foreseeing the mischief arising from continuous competition, made a proposition for uniting the two associations. Their adversaries, viewing this as a sign of weakness, contemptuously rejected the idea, but protracted suspense and continuous misfortunes at length influced them to view the scheme for amalgamation more favorably, and on the 27th of April, 1702, a draft-agreement was adopted, although it took some time to reconcile previous animosities and conflicting interests. "The work of reconciliation was now undertaken in 'earnest, and from this time we may date the commence-'ment of a career, which, after a necessary period of exis-'tence, led the East India Company to wealth and power." Upon entering into the required negotiations, much difficulty was found in settling the pecuniary affairs of the two Companies. For the London were burdened with a debt of one hundred and forty lakhs of Rupees, and other securities at their different factories, while their home debts were proportionate. In this dilemma, Lord Godolphin was referred to, and he effected an arrangement satisfactory to both.

In the appointment of officers subject to after arrangements, Sir John Gayer was nominated General and Governor of Bombay, Mr. Burniston, Deputy-Governor, and Sir Nicholas Waite, President of Surat. Other servants were to be nominated

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according to rank, and such as were dismissed had the option of returning to England. Matters being thus arranged, all seemed settled with the appearance of working amicably, but Waite's intemperance and intriguing spirit disturbed every good intention, nor was it until his services were "discontinued," to use a mild term for his dismission, that the two Companies felt the beneficial results arising from the wisdom of their union. Lord Godolphin who rigidly weighed and investigated the position of the two bodies, delivered his award on the 29th of September, 1708. The award which first declared the title of the New Corporation as the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, decreed that there were to be three Presidencies in India. That a new Governor with the title of General, and a Council, were to be appointed for Bombay, the Council being elected from the Civil Servants, but the number was to be left open for convenience, and to these joint authorities all matters were to be submitted. Aislabie was appointed General, Proby second in Council, Rendall third, Goodshaw fourth, Wyche fifth, Mildmay sixth, Boone seventh, and Oakley eighth. They were to delegate four of their number to act as President and Council of Surat, and to nominate as many factors and writers as they required.

We might here fairly terminate our review in the words of the author: "The union of the two Companies is an epoch which 'properly closes the early history of the British in India. From 'this time the United Company commenced a new and wonderful career, past struggles had left it in a state of exhaus-'tion, its advance was at first feeble and tardy. But it never 'receded a step, never even halted. Movement imparted fresh 'health, and it acquired strength by progress, whilst yet an 'infant of days, it walked timidly, but with increasing size, 'assumed a bolder front, and at last in a gigantic form, 'strode fearlessly across the whole continent of India." But there yet remains a short, but able summary, meriting attention, the particular characteristics of which are candour and conciseness, and as the author has well digested his subject, and is fully qualified to express an opinion, we cannot pass over this portion of his work.

With regard to the East India Company and the obscurity which envelopes its early proceedings, he remarks, "It is 'a singular fact, that as yet no written history has ventured 'to express an impartial opinion respecting their affairs. Bruce 'is the only author who has composed a connected narrative, 'but he wrote for the Company. Hence throughout his three 'quarto volumes, but one or at most two adverse criticisms 'are to be met with. The results proved antagonistical to the

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'intention, facts oozed out which rendered the partial state-
'ments of foreigners more readily credited, while the enemies
'of the Company attacked them violently with misrepresen-
'tations, and supplied with imagination those facts which the
'Company unwisely withheld."

The early Court of Directors were certainly neither better nor much worse than the age in which they lived. Corruption was flagrant from the throne downwards, so that when we estimate their proceedings, we must compare them with the prevailing customs, and not select this body as meriting an inordinate share of public indignation. "The 'Company never laid claim to any of the higher order of 'virtues. They professed to be honest and enterprising, 'but their aims were limited by their own interests. But there 'are, it is true, periods in their early history, when their 'conduct was almost magnanimous. The Court of Directors 'lived and laboured for themselves, but they resisted so stoutly 'the open assaults of doughty adversaries, countermined the 'concealed approaches of secret foes, rallied their fainting 'troops, and from their own unfailing fires rekindled the ex-'tinguished energies of their servants. Such an indomitable 'spirit claims our admiration, for the vulgar instinct of self-'preservation appears then in an imposing dress of heroic 'glory.

The contrast between past and present Government is thus pourtrayed, and deserves attention from all connected with, or interested in India. It cannot fail to make a strong impression upon our Indian brethren, in allusion to whom it is remarked: "It would be well if discontented natives could be brought to 'compare their position under British rule, with that of the 'English under Native. There is now at least security for life 'and property, the tax which the subject pays for the support 'of the Government is small, when we consider that really 'it is the rent of his land. He has the most absolute con-'trol over his own movements. He may travel North, 'South, East or West, and be safe from injury and insult. If 'his journey be on land, the tribes, such as Bhils and Kalis, 'which formerly would have plundered him, are now the 'police which protect him; if his course be over sea, he no 'longer fears lest behind each headland there should lurk 'some ferocious rover, and that to double it would be his death 'or ruin. His religion is tolerated and his person respected, 'the oppression of petty tyrants is restrained by equitable 'laws, and he meets with consideration and politeness from 'that dominant people, whom he still regards as outcasts and 'unfit to share his social enjoyments."

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Compare this with the position of the English under Native authority. "There was no power to protect the merchant either 'by land or sea; if he wished to convey his goods from Surat 'to Agra, he could only hope to defend them from plunder by 'mustering a strong party, and setting regular guards at each 'camping place, as though he were in an enemy's country. 'Still more dangerous were the paths of the ocean. There he had 'to depend entirely upon his own resources, for it would have 'been vain to seek protection from law. Nay, the proud 'Emperor appealed to the despised strangers that his shipping 'might be protected, and they were expected, not only to 'defend themselves, but also the mariners and traders of a 'vast empire, yet he and his subjects, helpless haughty bar-'barians, affected to despise the English, wronged them inces-'santly, imprisoned their chiefs, insulted their envoys, fleeced 'their merchants, and drove them to turn upon their 'oppressors in despair. Thus the evils of native rule com-'pelled English merchants to protect their ware-houses with 'battlements, and all the muniments of war."

"Short as this history is, it yet seems a labyrinth of human 'follies and errors. Religion, however, which is the only solid 'basis of all knowledge, enables us to trace through it all a 'mysterious clue of Divine Providence and protection. Euro-'pean vices and Native vices bear an overwhelming proportion 'on the record, and the catalogue is relieved by a few items of 'virtue. But as two negatives make an affirmative, so the 'vices of Europeans and Natives have produced a positive 'good. The thirst for riches, the unscrupulous efforts of 'ambition, the reckless violence which often struck Hindoos 'with terror—all these were the disgrace of the English, but 'they hurried them on to empire. The perfidy, the cunning 'which over-reached itself, the cowardice, the exclusive bigotry 'which disgraced the natives, smoothed the way to their sub-'jection, and surely these results are being directed by the 'Universal Benefactor to good. We know of no other way 'in which India could have been regenerated. Had the English 'in India been a set of peaceful saintly emigrants, what 'impression would they have made on the country? Had the 'natives placed confidence in each other, and been united un-'der a common faith, how could they have given way to the 'encroachments of a few foreigners?"

"But although Providence has thus brought good out of evil, 'we have certain indications that for the future, they who sow 'vices will not reap a harvest of blessings. Moreover all 'history teaches one certain truth, which is this, that between 'conquering and conquered people, there must be mutual for-

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'bearance, frankness and liberality, or there is no hope of 'permanence, much less of progress and improvement. Where 'these are wanting, good policy, energy and courage cannot 'long be of any avail. We may take a lesson from Sparta 'in ancient, and Spain in modern times. The Spartans would 'admit no conquered people to the rights of naturalization, 'and the consequence was, that as their power spread, the 'boughs soon became too heavy for the trunk, and it was 'uprooted by a tempest. The Spaniards treated most illiberally 'the natives of South America, and consequently their con-'quered territories were wrested from them. Widely different 'was the manner in which the Romans discharged their duties 'towards the people which they subdued. Whole families, 'cities, even nations, were admitted to all the rights of Roman 'citizenship ;* so that, as has been said, 'it was not the Romans 'that spread upon the world, but, it was the world that spread 'upon the Romans.' Hence conquerors and conquered rose in 'company to greatness. Amalgamation like theirs cannot indeed 'take place between European and Oriental races. The example 'of the Portuguese has satisfied us that it is not desirable But 'there can be no reason why there should not be mutual 'esteem and regard. These, however, can never be built up 'securely, unless they have for a foundation growing intelli-'gence, a more fervent and disinterested love of truth, a noble 'morality, a juster appreciation of immutable principles than 'formerly distinguished Natives or Europeans. When truth 'is represented on both sides, with intellectual vigour as a 'living principle, Natives will have a claim to receive, and 'Europeans will have a disposition to give, both political and 'social privileges. Then indeed we shall plant, and posterity 'shall gather greatness and happiness for both the English 'and the Native multitudes of Hindustan."

Our extracts will have enabled the general reader to form a fair opinion of the value of this literary accessory to Indian history, but there is another part which we have scarcely touched upon, and which reveals much of the under-working, and difficulty with which the Leviathan Company has had to contend. We allude to the anecdotical portion, which furnishes both personal and political information alike amusing and instructive, and deserves attentive perusal, inasmuch as it explains many secret springs of action hitherto wanting in the early narratives of the records of the East India Company.

* *i. e.* Not only to the jus commercii, jus connubii, and jus hereditatis, but also to the jus suffragii, and jus honorum.'

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ART. IV.—*A History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humáyun. By William Erskine, Esq., Translator of "Memoirs of the Emperor Baber."* 2 *vols. London*, 1854.

THESE volumes, for which we are proximately indebted to the filial piety of Mr. Claude Erskine, of the Bombay Civil Service, claimed from us an earlier notice. The work is one of great research and great ability, and it the more behoves us to extend to it a kind and cordial greeting, inasmuch as it is scarce likely to meet from the outside public, the acceptance which is so justly its due.

That works of this kind are not popular, it must be unreservedly admitted. It remains for some historian yet unborn, uniting in himself the grandeur of Gibbon with the brilliancy of Macaulay, to render a narrative of purely Indian adventure acceptable to the European reader. When once the corner is turned and we come upon the bridge which joins the opposite banks of Mahomedan and Christian supremacy, it is to the dullness of the writer, rather than to the inapprehensiveness of the reader, that we must attribute the unattractiveness of Indian history. We can sympathise with our own countrymen, on whatever shores they may be cast, or in whatever situation they may be thrown; but it is not easy to sympathise, under any circumstances, with a genuine Asiatic. Even the most experienced amongst us understand but imperfectly the feelings, the instincts, the principles of action which move the Hindoos and Mahomedans, by whom we are surrounded. And if we do understand them, it is troublesome to go out of ourselves for the occasion, to place ourselves in the situation of people of different color and different creed, and to forget our nationality altogether. Somehow or other, we cannot take a living interest in the actions of our dusky neighbours. Surrounded as we are by them, often seeing from month's end to month's end no other faces, we are still little able to regard them as anything more than so much furniture. We do not think how the blood flows, or the heart pulses, or the brain works beneath the dark skin. Even a dead body is a mere thing of corruption—not the outward and visible sign of a foregone tragedy of the deepest human interest. It is an atom of a great mass of mortality—not one living member of a family complete in all its parts, and bound together by the same endearing ties, that we ourselves are wont to recognize. In

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uor eyes it is not the ruin of a father, a brother, or a son—whose place is vacant—whose *lotah* has passed into other hands. We may speak his language—know thoroughly the history of the country and the geography of the district to which he belonged—perhaps, in the abstract, understand something about the mysteries of caste; but he is, after all, nothing more than one of so many millions of tax-payers—a grain of sand from the great desert, on which we have stamped the foot-prints of the European conqueror.

It is mainly, we think, to this intelligible want of sympathy, that we are to attribute the scant welcome which is given, even in this country, to works of pure Asiatic history. And if *we* cannot appreciate such works, how can we expect our home-staying brethren to accord to them a liberal greeting. It is common to declare that the great stumbling-block resides in the unpronounceable names. But "Baber"—Mr. Erskine's hero, is as euphonious a name as "Raglan;" and "Delhi" is much more pronounceable than "Sevastopol." "Sooraj-oo-Dowlah" (or "Sir Roger Dowler") is not more difficult than "Sir De Lacy Evans;" and neither Runjeet Singh nor Dost Mahomet will break a jaw, which has not yielded to Menschikoff and Gortschakoff. Indeed, if hard names make unreadable books, we do not see with what chance of success, the history of the Crimean War is to be written. If we could understand the feelings, appreciate the motives, and altogether penetrate the inner lives of Oriental heroes as easily as we can pronounce their names, we are inclined to think that there would be fewer complaints of the dulness of Indian history.

But whether the obstacle to a more general appreciation resides in the remoteness of the sympathies evoked, or the strangeness of the proper names; there is no doubt, that such works as Mr. Erskine's, meet with public acceptance in a measure very disproportionate to their deserts. These two first volumes of the *History of the House of Taimur* are distinguished by deep research, pregnant learning, considerable knowledge of mankind, and elegant scholarly diction; but the book is one which men will rather place on their shelves, for future reference, than carry about with them for continuous reading. In addition to the disadvantages common to the class, it has others to contend with peculiar to itself. In the first place, it is but a completed fragment of a great uncompleted design. Had Mr. Erskine been longer spared to his labors and to the world, he would have presented us with an elaborate History of India, from the commencement of the reign of Baber

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to the death of Aurungzebe.* But the volumes before us treat only of the careers of Baber and Humáyun. And this suggests the remembrance of another, and still greater disadvantage, under which this history labors; one-half of the present work, as is candidly admitted by Mr. Erskine and by his son, has been anticipated by the author himself. Mr. Erskine has already made us familiar with the adventurous career, and the strange many-sided character of the Emperor Baber. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the admirable translation of the Imperial autobiography, with its accompanying notes and dissertations, does not supply at least as much information as the world at large will care to possess. As for ourselves, we would not willingly lose a page of the present work. We have a peculiar affection for those writers who, content with "fit audience but few," find in the labor of historical literature its own exceeding great reward, and look for no compensation beyond. Mr. Erskine, though his life was too short for the full consummation of the benefits which he desired to confer on his country, has rendered it a service which will be held in grateful remembrance by the historical student so long as our literature endures.

William Erskine was a remarkable man; and, if we have any fault to find with the volumes before us, it is that a biographical notice of the author is not prefixed to them. We wish that we could repair the omission. His early days were, we believe, spent principally in Edinburgh, where he lived on terms of intimacy with many, if not all of that strange assemblage of noticeable young men, who, at the commencement of the present century, "cultivated literature upon a little oatmeal" in the elevated flats of the Modern Athens. He was the familiar friend of Jeffrey and of Horner. He was in habits of close alliance, or of continual correspondence, with Philosopher Brown, and he was the cherished associate of James Mackintosh. By all of these he was held in the highest estimation; and when the last-named was appointed Recorder of Bombay,† William Erskine followed his fortunes to the distant settlement, and being a lawyer by profession, was soon nominated to an office

* We believe that his first intention was to write a history of the Mogul Empire under Aurungzebe. It is greatly, we think, to be regretted, that this design was not carried out. That long reign saw at its commencement the highest glories, and witnessed at the end the decline, almost indeed the fall of the Empire. A history of this epoch would have embraced an account of the government and institutions of the country almost as we found them, and would have been of peculiar interest to the European reader.

† Mackintosh wrote to Dr. Parr that "he had the good fortune to bring out with him a young Scotch gentleman, Mr. Erskine, who is one of the most amiable, genious, and accurately informed men in the world."

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in the Court. He was subsequently appointed to preside over the Small Cause Court of Bombay. By this time his connexion with Sir James Mackintosh had been still further cemented, by his marriage with one of the Recorder's daughters.

In India, William Erskine formed many friendships, and as in England, was respected and esteemed for his great talents and his good qualities, by many of the most gifted men, who then adorned our Anglo-Indian Society. He was the friend and literary associate of poor Leyden. He was highly appreciated and often consulted by John Malcolm. Mountstuart Elphinstone took a deep interest in, and helped to promote, his literary success. And Charles Metcalfe, whom he had never seen, stimulated by Elphinstone, exerted himself for William Erskine at a distance. To what extent he may have been drawn to India, in the first instance, by a natural taste for Orientalism, we do not know. But soon after his arrival, he was deep in the study of the pristine history of India. He delighted in antiquarian researches; and prosecuted them with uncommon success. He contributed to the transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (of which he was the original Secretary) some papers distinguished by extensive learning and remarkable acuteness. To appreciate them aright, it is necessary that we should bear in mind the period at which they appeared. Wilson had not then written. The principal works of Colebrooke had not been given to the world. The French and German Orientalists, who have since added so largely to our stores of learning, had then scarcely begun to bestir themselves. The English in India, though largely given up to Oriental habits, were little addicted to the study of Oriental literature and history; and what William Erskine put forth, five-and-forty years ago, was something both new and striking. Among these separate papers were some admirable disquisitions on the Hindu and Buddist cave-temples, in which he pointed out, in a very learned and ingenious manner, the means of distinguishing them from each other, and of attaining an approximation to the dates of works of Hindu antiquity, by a reference to the stages of the national religion, indicated by the acts of tne gods and heroes represented in the sculptures.* Another Treatise on the religion of the Parsees, including a comparison of its existing state with that which it presented in remote ages, as exhibited by Herodotus and other ancient writers, was also distinguished by a remarkable amount of knowledge and

* Bishop Heber, among others, was wont to speak in terms of strong admiration of Mr. Erskine's Papers on the Cave-Temples of Elephanta—honorable mention of them may be found in Heber's Journal.

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ability. But that which contributed most to the establishment of his reputation in Europe, was his translation of the Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, and the elaborate dissertations on the Tartar tribes of Central Asia, which prefaced it—dissertations of which Jeffrey said, that they were more clear, masterly and full of instruction, than any it had ever been his lot to read on the history or geography of the East. The rough draft alone of the early part of the translation was written by Dr. Leyden. But Mr. Erskine, with characteristic modesty, assigned to his *collaborateur* a larger share of the praise due to the literary merits of the work than justly belonged to him. The notes which the same great critic described as the most intelligent and learned, and the least pedantic he had ever seen affixed to such a performance, are entirely due to Mr. Erskine.

But it is not to be supposed that, during his residence in India, he was dreaming away his life among the traditions of the past—absorbed in antiquarian researches and philosophic speculations. The active business of life was ever a present reality to him. And it is no small proof of his legal and administrative efficiency, that he was nominated a member of a Commission—(consisting we believe, only of three gentlemen, the two others being in the Company's Service) appointed to draw up the Code of Regulations now in force in the Bombay Presidency. But these honorable and lucrative labors were broken in upon by failing health. His constitution had for some time been severely tried by unintermitting intellectual activity in a distressing climate; and he was compelled, at any sacrifice, to recruit his exhausted strength, indeed, to save life itself, by returning to the milder regions of the West. In Scotland, he had the pleasure of renewing some of his old friendships; and at intervals he was to be seen in the best literary circles of the Southern capital; but he passed a considerable part of his time on the Continent His intercourse, both personal and epistolary, with many of the most enlightened men of the day, English and Foreign, was frequent and varied.* But he was one of the most modest of men, and never

* Among others who held him in highesteem, was the late Sir Robert Inglis—a man, *sui generis*, who has recently passed away to a better world, leaving behind him more sorrowing friends, of more varied characters and conditions, than perhaps ever yet grieved for a single man. He was able—but there were many abler, learned—there were many more learned. Pleasant of discourse—many talked more brilliantly and more profoundly, and with a greater exuberance of illustrations. But one so able, so learned, so pleasant of discourse, and yet withal so kindly, so genial, so good, the world has seldom seen before. They who knew him only as the Member for Oxford University, and regarded him as a High-Churchman and a High-Tory, perhaps somewhat "bigoted" and "intolerant" (it was the fashion to apply these epithets to him) had no concep-

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took his proper place in the literary society of his times, or his proper position in the larger world of letters. He had long been collecting materials for his *History of the House of Taimur*—but failing health again broke in upon his labours. At Bonn, on the Rhine, and at Pau, in the South of France, he resided for some time. The Preface to the two volumes

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tion of his real character. He was a man of large sympathies and liberal sentiments ; not at all austere in his morality or exclusive in his social intercourse, but courteous and hospitable without grudging, as a Christain should be, and beyond all example, perhaps, many-sided in his choice of friends. At his table, men of all professions and no professions, of varied rank, character, attainments and opinions, might be seen ; all equally happy, all equally at their ease, under the genial influence of his sunny face and his kindly greetings. There was but one general characteristic about his guests—they were all people worth knowing. A personage of note or a person of no note—a great General or a humble Priest, might be your neighbour—but you soon found that he was not a common man. And there was nothing more remarkable in these gatherings than the rare *fusion* which distinguished them from almost any similar entertainments in any part of the world. No one in his house ever felt isolated or neglected. It cannot be said that he exerted himself to make every body happy, for, indeed, it was no exertion to him—it was a spontaneous effusion of kindliness ; he felt an individual interest in each one of his guests ; his large heart had a place for them all ; his geniality was infectious, and he made his friends interested in each other. It was, moreover, a distinguishing mark of his hospitality, that he never graduated his attentions. All seemed of equal mark at his table. And yet his bearing towards the highest had as little in it of neglect, as towards the lowest it had of condescension.

Charming as was this hospitality in itself, it was doubly so, as an illustration of the general character of the man. As was the host, so was the friend. You were as little afraid of being forgotten out of his house, as of being neglected in it. Much as he delighted in the society of eminent men, he was not a lion-hunter. He did not, as some, change his friends, according to the fluctuations and vicissitudes of the political atmosphere. The Parliamentary Debates were not to him a barometer of intellectual and social worth. The doors of his mansion in Bedford Square, – open to you in one season, were not closed in the next. There were few of his friends who were not, every now and then, pleasantly reminded that he was thinking of them. It was said—and truly—when he resigned his seat in Parliament, that the House of Commons was not like the House of Commons, without Sir Robert Inglis. Many will have said, and without a figure, that the world does not seem the same world without him. He was such a living presence among men. And yet if we could realize the idea of a region peopled or pervaded by eternal benignities, it would be in connexion with the thought of such saintly natures as that of Robert Harry Inglis.

It may seem out of place, in such a work as this, to indulge in these sorrowing reminiscences of a man, who was emphatically an English statesman, and who never set foot upon Indian soil. The digression may be out of place. We could not help it. And yet it may be added that Sir Robert Inglis, the son of an East India Director, ever took the deepest interest in India affairs, and was peculiarly well informed respecting them. One of his last speeches in the House of Commons was on the India Bill of 1853. And one of his last monthly labors—a labor of love and kindness—continued, indeed, up to a few days from his death, was the careful re-perusal and revision (for a new edition) of an elaborate work on Indian history, written by one whom he honored with his friendship ; and who held that good gift among the most cherished possessions of his life, as now among its most hallowed recollections.

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before us is dated from the former place—a pleasant place in itself, with a learned atmosphere, where English faces may be seen at all times of the year. The book is dated, May 28, 1845,—not very long after which he died.

It would not be easy to convey, in the form of a Review-article, a just conception of the real merits of Mr. Erskine's History—and, perhaps, the course which we are about to take, is not the one best adapted even partially to fulfil that object. We are going to deal shortly with the book after the manner of reviewers—to tear out its viscera, and use them as our own.

Baber was born on the 14th of February, 1483. He was the son of the King of Kokund, and in that country first saw the light He was a boy of eleven years when his father died, and bequeathed to him a tottering throne. A neighbouring Prince threatened his little Sovereignty, and with the natural enmity of a near relation, despoiled him of part of his possessions.* The first years of his reign were stormy and peril-laden. But adversity even then, was not without its uses. He was early trained to arms, and acquired habits of independence, and an elasticity of mind, which clung to him throughout the rest of his life.

Baber's first military experiences were of a defensive character. But he was soon to be seen carrying the war into the enemy's country. The affairs of Samarkand had been thrown into confusion by repeated changes of Sovereignty, and the young Prince had little scruple in retaliating upon the family which had treated him so scurvily upon his accession. So, aided by another cousin, the Khan of Bokhara, he laid siege to Samarkand, and reduced the garrison almost to a state of starvation. But before the place surrendered, that great general, of whose powerful assistance the Russians recently boasted, came to the aid of the besieged. Winter set in. "All were agreed," says Mr. Erskine, "that the city was re-
'duced to great distress, and must probably fall in a short time,
'but that it was impossible to keep the army in the field when
'winter came on, unsheltered as it then was, and in a country
'where the winter is extremely severe. It was resolved there-
'fore to break up from before the city and to erect temporary
'huts for the troops in some neighbouring forts, by which means
'they could still keep Samarkand in a great degree in a state of
'blockade." Preparations for hutting the troops were at once commenced, but there was active work still before them. The ruler of Samarkand—Baber's cousin—had invited a famous

* His first enemy was his uncle—the Sultan of Samarkand.

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Usbeg Chief to come to his relief, and this man, Sheibani Khan by name, now arrived with a formidable army, expecting to take Baber by surprise. But the young Prince, mustering what troops he could, prepared to give him battle. The bold front he assumed alarmed the Usbeg, who returned to Turkistan; and in a few days, "by the favor of God, Baber 'gained complete possession of the city and country of Sa-'markand."

But his difficulties, as often happens, were augmented by success. Samarkand surrendered peaceably to him. His cousin had fled in disguise; and the chief people had invited him to enter. He intended that the place should become the capital of his Empire. Justice and expediency alike, therefore, deterred him from giving up the city to plunder. His followers were disappointed. The surrounding country, impoverished by the protracted siege, could yield no adequate supplies to his army. So his soldiers began rapidly to desert, and his officers followed their example. Nor was this the only misfortune which threatened him. Whilst Baber had been busying himself with foreign conquest, he was threatened at home with internal revolt. His younger brother was in arms against him, and menacing his capital. And when the expresses, which were sent to summon him home, reached Samarkand, Baber was lying prostrate and helpless, between life and death, in the extremity of a mortal fever.

Back went the messenger to Baber's beleaguered capital, with the fearful intelligence that the young Sultan was at the point of death. The Governor of the place, who had been gallantly holding out in expectation of his master's return, now stricken with alarm, capitulated. But Baber was a youth of a vigorous constitution; and the Envoy had scarcely quitted him, before he rallied and read the letters which summoned him home. He had ruled only a hundred days in Samarkand; but to abide there was to forfeit his hereditary kingdom; so he started at once for the capital of Kokund. He arrived there only to find it in the hands of his enemies. "To save Audejan," he wrote with *näive* brevity in his Memoirs, "I had given up Samarkand; and now found that I had lost the one without preserving the other."

The young Prince's situation was a deplorable one. In his extremity, he turned his despairing eyes to Tashkend where ruled one of his maternal uncles, an able but illiterate Tartar Chief, and invited him to advance upon Audejan. The invitation was accepted. The Tartars came. But the bribes of Baber's enemies were too much for him, and he returned,

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leaving his nephew to his fate. His adherents now rapidly deserted him. "I was reduced to a very distressing situation," he says in his Memoirs, "and wept a great deal." It was a hard lot, indeed, for a boy of fifteen. But notwithstanding his tears he had a brave spirit; and his elasticity was not easily subdued or his fertility of resource exhausted. As one uncle failed him, he turned to another. Disappointed in one direction, he looked elsewhere for succour, and turned to new scenes of enterprize. But the times were out of joint. Everything was against him. For awhile he was destined to "stoop"

"Into a dark tremendous cloud—
But, 'twas but for a time."

After two years of misfortune, he emerged again into the sunlight of success. The best game, in such circumstances, is always a waiting one. The "whirlgig of time" is sure to "bring in its revenges." He who acquires a throne by revolt, is pretty sure to lose it. So it happened, that in due time, the tide set in against Baber's brother, and Baber found himself again supreme in his old kingdom.

It is possible that he might now have remained for some time in the enjoyment of comparative peace and security. But an indiscretion, by which he exasperated and alienated a large body of Mogul troops, blighted the fair prospect before him. He was again immersed in war. The capital, which he had so lately recovered, was threatened by the adherents of his brother. A pitched battle in the open country was decided in Baber's favor. But the enemy, though defeated, were not broken; and a compromise was effected. The little kingdom of Farghana or Kokund, was divided into two principalities; and at the age of seventeen, Baber found himself poorer than he had been six years before.

Such was the first epoch of Baber's chequered career. As a boy he had become habituated to all the vicissitudes of success and failure—of victory and defeat. The story is the common story of a Central-Asian Prince. There are few whom it would not suit, whether in the sixteenth or the nineteenth century. Now a king, and now a beggar—now a victorious leader, and now a miserable fugitive. Happy is it when there is sufficient elasticity of mind to rebound unbroken and uninjured after these sharp assaults of fortune. Baber had youth, health and energy on his side—and above all a sort of philosophic fertility of resource, which seems never to have forsaken him. Again for a little space, in the enjoyment of peace, he was vexed

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by the acrimonious disrespect of the minister, who had the direction of his affairs. The young Prince owed much to him and was compelled to submit to his insolence—even to the dismissal of the dependants whom he most loved. So he took to himself a companion whom the exacting heir could not so easily dislodge—he solaced himself with a wife.

But he was destined to enjoy only a brief season of repose. There was a chance of regaining Samarkand. The Prince who occupied it, Baber's cousin, had quarrelled with his minister, and the minister who had a strong body of adherents, now invited Baber to make an attempt to regain his ancient capital. Baber eagerly caught at the offer. It was the month of June—the season for action. So he put himself at once at the head of his troops and marched upon Samarkand. Another enemy, however, was in the field. Sheibani Khan, invited by the mother of the Sultan, was advancing upon the city. Baber was too weak to oppose him ; so he drew off his forces and left the Usbeg master of the field.

His followers now began to desert him ; and again he was reduced to sore distress. He had grasped at the shadow of Samarkand, and lost the dominions which had been actually in his possession. For some time he was a fugitive in an inhospitable country—seeking friends and finding none—toiling over sharp rocks and exposed to the inclemencies of a cruel climate. But his courage never deserted him. Weary of these painful wanderings, he turned his thoughts and his face again towards Samarkand. He had but a handful of followers—but they were brave men and true. Nerved and sustained by the energy of despair, he resolved to surprise the city. He believed that his coming would be hailed as the advent of a deliverer. The people could have little in common with the barbarous Usbeg hordes, who had poured in upon them and desecrated their homes. And he had not miscalculated his chances of success. Under cover of the night he carried the place by escalade. "When he entered the town," says Mr. Erskine, "the citizens were fast asleep. On hearing the uproar, the 'shop-keepers began to peep out fearfully behind their doors, 'but were delighted when they found what had happened. The 'citizens, as soon as they were informed of Baber's entrance, 'being heartily tired of their barbarous masters, hailed him and 'his followers with acclamations of joy. They instantly rose and 'attacked the Usbegs who were scattered over the town, hunting them down with sticks and stones wherever they could be 'found. The chief men of Samarkand, as well as the merchants

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'and shop-keepers, now hastened to congratulate the young 'Sultan at his quarters, bringing him offerings and presents 'with food already dressed for him, and his followers at the 'same time pouring out prayers for his success." By this bold enterprise, the gallantry of which even the young Prince himself could not over-value, the usurping Usbegs were utterly beaten and ignominiously expelled.

His pride, indeed, was natural and justifiable. "Alone he did it." His heroism had won him back a throne. The people of Samarkand welcomed him with joy. He had relieved them from a yoke which they detested and a burden which pressed heavily upon them. The surrounding districts declared themselves in his favour. Fort after fort was given up to him. The Usbeg garrisons were expelled. And soon Sheibani Khan himself, hopeless of regaining what he had lost, set his face towards Bokhara and fled.

The winter was spent by Baber quietly in his recovered capital—but with the open weather came new sources of disquietude. The power of Sheibani Khan was not broken. Already was the Usbeg chief meditating the recovery of Samarkand. The military resources of Baber's empire were at a low ebb. He found it difficult to recruit his army. But his late success had given him confidence. The stars seemed to be propitious. "The delusions of judicial astrology," says Mr. Erskine, "lent their aid to mislead him." So he went forth hopefully and courageously to give the advancing Usbeg battalions battle in the open field. We give what followed in the historian's own words :—

> The armies prepared for battle. Baber's marched out, the men clad in armour, the horses caparisoned and covered with cloth of mail. They were in four divisions, consisting of right wing and left, centre and advance, according to the fashion of the times. As they moved forward, with their right flank on the river Kohik, which runs from Samarkand towards Bokhára, they were met by the enemy, drawn up ready to receive them. The hostile army was far the most numerous, and the extremity of its right turned Baber's left flank, and wheeled upon his rear. This compelled him to change his position by throwing back his left; in doing which, his advance, which was posted in front of the centre, and composed of his best men and officers, was necessarily thrown to the right. The battle was nevertheless manfully supported, and the assailants in front driven back on their centre. It was even thought at one time, by Sheibani's best officers, that the battle was lost; and they advised him to quit the field. Meanwhile, however, the enemy's flanking division having driven in Baber's left, attacked his centre in the rear, pouring in showers of arrows; and the whole left of his line being thus forced in and thrown into disorder, that, with the centre, became a scene of inextricable confusion. Only ten or fifteen men remained around the Sultan. They,

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seeing that all was over, rode off towards the right wing, which had rested on the river; and on gaining its banks plunged in, armed as they were. "For more than half way over," says Baber, "we had firm footing; but after that we sank beyond our depths, and were forced, for upwards of a bow-shot, to swim our horses, loaded as they were with their riders in armour and their own trappings. Yet they plunged through it. On getting out of the water on the other side, we cut off our horses' heavy furniture and threw it away."* The enemy were not able to follow them. The royal fugitive kept for some time along the right bank of the river, and afterwards recrossing it higer up, reached Samarkand the same evening.

Completely defeated in the open country, Baber determined to defend the city. The Usbegs advanced confidently to the siege, and established a vigorous blockade. The people were true to their Prince; the beleagured garrison held out with firmness and courage. But hunger, more cruel and remorseless even than the Usbegs, reduced them in time to a pitiable state of weakness and suffering. The place had not been provisioned for a siege. The scanty supplies were, therefore, speedily exhausted. The horses were fed upon the leaves of trees. The inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of feeding upon the flesh of asses and dogs. Day and night the little garrison were compelled to be on the alert, until they were wearied out by continual watching. After some months of privation their constancy began to give way. Desertion thinned the ranks of the garrison. The young Prince looked abroad with despairing eyes. None of the neighboring chiefs came to his relief. No provisions arrived from a distance. Starvation stared him in the face. Even the young Sultan's most trusted friends were letting themselves down, under cover of the night, over the walls of the town, and escaping from sufferings which they could no longer endure. All hope was now utterly gone. The Usbeg chief proposed a capitulation; and Baber accepted his terms.

He seems, however, to have escaped only with his life. We now behold him again a fugitive. The world was all before him. With a few followers he rode forth, scarcely knowing whither—gnawed by the fiercest pangs of hunger. There were joys, however, in store for him unknown before. In a remote village he came upon a hospitable governor, who gave him a good dinner. "We had," he says in his autobiography, "nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour, well-baked, delicious melons 'and excellent grapes in the greatest profusion—thus passing 'from the extreme of famine to abundance, and from danger

* *Baber's Memoirs*, page 93.

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'and suffering to security and enjoyment. In my whole life, 'I never enjoyed myself so much."

On the skirts of a high mountain lay the district of Dekhat. Its inhabitants were principally Tanjiks, who bred horses and tended sheep. This tract of country was now assigned to Baber by Jehangir Mirza, the *de facto* ruler of his old country of Firghana, or Kokund, who took compassion on the destitute Prince. Here he lived for a time in a state of placid enjoyment or dreamy repose—lodging with the shepherds, wandering about barefooted and losing his way among the intricacies of the mountain-passes. Mr. Erskine compares the condition of the young Prince at this time with that of Henri Quatre in his boyhood "wandering bare-footed among the simple and hardy peasants of the mountains of his native Bearn." That the training was advantageous to him is not to be doubted. But the historian conjectures that other more important results may be traced to this period of exile. In the house in which Baber dwelt was an ancient lady, one of whose relatives had accompanied the army of Timour Beg when he invaded Hindustan. Mr. Erskine conjectures, and not without a show of reason, that the stories which the old woman told about the wonders of India, fired his young ambition, and filled him with an insatiable desire to visit the wonderful country of which he had heard so much.

Having been hospitably received by the people of Yeke-Aulenge, Baber and his people descended to the lower country by the Shebestic Pass, and fell upon the Hazarahs. Having plundered and defeated them, he marched upon Caubul. He had expected that there would be rebellion in his absence, and he now found that he was not mistaken. His family connexions had been intriguing against him. All the intricacies of the relationship are explained with much minuteness by Mr. Erskine, but the reader must have a strong head and a tenacious memory who can bear them all in his mind. Foremost, however, among the encouragers of this revolt was Shah Begum, the step-mother of his own mother, who favored the cause of another grandson, Khan Mirza. Tidings of this rebellion reached Baber as he advanced. But he was not disheartened by the news. He sent forward a trusty messenger to communicate with the chief officers of the garrison on whom he could rely, and made his arrangements for the surprise. In spite of an accident which had nearly defeated all his plans, the movement was crowned with success. There was much "hard-fighting in the palaces and gardens in the

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suburbs, in the course of which the King, from his habitual ardor, was exposed to imminent danger." But the victory was Baber's, and the chief rebels were dragged prisoners before him. But his characteristic generosity forbade either their execution or their degradation; and the young King, in token of perfect forgiveness and reconciliation, laid himself down to sleep at his grand-mother's feet. Khan Mirza, the chief rebel himself, was soon brought helpless with fear, before the King. But Baber opened his arms to receive him, spoke encouragingly to him, gave him to drink from his own cup, and dismissed him with kindness and honors.

The repose, however, of Baber was but of brief duration. The power of Sheibani Khan was still increasing. He had conquered Khorassan and reduced Balkh, and now in the following spring he prepared a great expedition for the capture of Candahar. With 50,000 men he crossed the Amu, and carried everything before him. There was division in the camp and councils of the enemy; and the great Usbeg's victory was an easy one. Having established himself in Khorassan, he marched upon Candahar and laid siege to the place. Intelligence of this movement filled Baber with alarm. He called his chief people together and a council was held. The triumphs of the terrible Usbeg had invested him with a prestige of invincibility. It was deemed hopeless to attempt to resist him. The fall of Candahar, they thought, must be a prelude to the fall of Caubul. So Baber and his chiefs determined, instead of defending their own country, to make an incursion into another; and the invasion of India was projected. Without loss of time he started by the Koord-Caubul and Jugdulluck routes, and after being assailed by the tribes on his line of march (who in those days appear to have been precisely what they are in our own,) arrived at Jellalabad. Halting there he learnt that Sheibani, having received intelligence of the attack of a fortress near Herat, in which he had located his family, had raised the siege of Candahar, just as he was on the very point of success, and retired to the westward.

Upon receiving this encouraging news, Baber returned to Caubul, and abandoned for a time the invasion of Hindoostan.

But it was the fate of the young Sultan always to escape from foreign enemies, only to fall in the way of domestic ones. He had scarcely settled himself in Caubul again when his troops broke into revolt. The discipline which he maintained was obnoxious to them. He was continually restraining their

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licentious propensities and disappointing their greed of plunder. His government was altogether too steady and equable. So they longed for new connections and bethought themselves of a new master. Their plan was to restore Caubul and the adjoining country to the former King, Abdul Mirza. Rumour of the intended rebellion reached Baber; but he would not believe it. Frank and unsuspicious, he reposed confidence in the traitors by whom he was surrounded, and could not be induced to take even common precautions for his safety. When the storm, therefore, burst upon him, it burst unexpectedly. As he was proceeding, by night, from the Charbagh Palace to another within the city-walls, the conspirators fell upon him, intending to seize his person. He, however, effected his escape and reached his camp on the *maidan*, believing that he still had the bulk of the army on his side. But the defection soon became general. The revolt of the Moguls was infectious; and many even of his most attached troops, fearful of the enmity of the rebels, and the outrages to which their families would be subjected, fell away from him in the hour of need. The high courage of the Sultan, however, did not forsake him. With a little handful of men he marched against the insurgents. To lead a body of troops to the attack was with him really to lead it. He did not regard the movements of his army from a distance or sent his orders by fleet aides-de-camp. He was at the head of his men; in the front of the battle; in the thick of the contest. To his own personal prowess and undaunted courage, he owed the unexpected success which crowned his arms in this most unequal struggle. He performed prodigies of valour. Five times did he engage in single combat, with the bravest and most accomplished swordsmen of the enemy, but he slew or put to flight the five rebel champions in succession. "His heroism and desperation," says the historian, "appalled his enemies and re-animated his followers." Victory declared itself on his side. The insurgent Moguls fled in dismay from Caubul; and Baber again found himself securely seated on the throne.

A season of comparative repose now ensued. For the unaccustomed duration of nearly two years, Baber reigned in tranquillity over Caubul, but cotemporary historians speak, with delight, of the amiable character of the Sovereign, and the felicity of the Court, at this period of his career. He was then only twenty-six years of age. He was "equal to either fortune." Prosperity is more trying than adversity. Baber came honorably out of both ordeals. He was not spoiled by success any more than he was disheartened by failure.

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But there were further conflicts and excitements in store for him—Sheibani Khan had, since his retirement from Candahar, been continually in the field, but his expeditions had not been attended with the old success. First against the Zaizaks—then against the Hazarahs—he led his once resistless army, but only to plunge it into disaster and defeat. Returning to Khorassan in a shattered state, the winter being close at hand, he gave a general furlough to his troops, to enable them to recover their strength and spirits. But scarcely had his military establishment been thus dispersed, when alarming intelligence greeted him, to the effect that Shah Ismael, the ruler of Persia, was coming down upon Khorassan with a well-seasoned, well-disciplined, and well-equipped army.

Sheibani fled to Mero, and the Persians, having over-run Khorassan with little interruption, pursued the Usbeg to the former place. There, with such troops as he had been able to bring together after the recent dispersion, Shaibani gave them battle and was defeated. He then shut himself up in the city and the Persians encamped before it. A long-continued struggle was now expected. The Persians in that desert country, were alarmed about their supplies, and doubtful whether they could protract, for any length of time, the investment of Mero. So Shah Ismael determined, by a feint, to draw the Usbeg into the open country. Simulating a retreat, he drew his army off to the south of the city, and the *ruse* entirely succeeded. Sheibani Khan went out in pursuit. A great battle was fought. The Usbegs were completely routed. The Khan himself with about five hundred followers—the chief people of his army—took refuge in a walled inclosure, where they were attacked and sorely pressed by the enemy. The only chance of escape was by leaping over the walls of the inclosure. Sheibani Khan led the way, but the crowd pressing on behind him for very life, he was overlaid and smothered.

Such was the inglorious end of the great Usbeg. His head was severed from his body, and his trunk dismembered by the Persian conqueror. "The skin of his head," says Mr. Erskine, "was stuffed with hay and sent to Sultan Bajazet, the Turkish 'Emperor of Constantinople. The skull, set in gold, was made 'into a drinking cup, which the Shah was proud of displaying 'at his great entertainments.' A ghastly anecdote here follows, strangely illustrative of the barbarous manners of the Persians in the early part of the sixteenth century :—

Agha Rustam Roz-efzun, who had made himself master of the province of Mazenderan, and who still held out in his mountain fastnesses against Shah Ismael, had been in the constant habit of saying, that his

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hand was on the skirts of Sheibani Khan's garment; an idiomatic expression, to signify, that he clung to him for assistance and protection. One day, when that chief was sitting in state at a grand festival, surrounded by the nobles of Taberistan, a special messenger, * sent by Shah Ismael, advanced fearlessly into his presence, and, with a loud voice, delivered a message from the Shah, concluding, "Though thy hand was never on the hem of Sheibani Khan's robe, yet his is now on thine;" and, with these words, flung the rigid hand of Sheibani on the skirt of the Prince's robe, and withdrew through the midst of the assembly. Not a word was spoken by any one, nor an effort made to detain him; all remained fixed in astonishment, and he escaped uninjured. The incident is said to have made a deep impression on the health of the Prince of Mazenderan, who, soon after, was brought to yield one half of his territories to the Shah.

The Usbeg power being thus broken up in Khorassan, vast numbers of fighting men, Moguls and others, who had followed the fortunes of Sheibani Khan, were now ready for service under another master. Their chief people came and proffered allegiance to Baber, and invited him to the conquest of Koondooz. The expedition was undertaken and was successful. But many difficulties threatened his subsequent career. The Usbegs were powerful in the country beyond the Hindoo Koosh, and it was not easy to expel them. But he pushed on with unfailing vigour, undeterred by temporary disaster, and his perseverance was crowned with success. After a perilous campaign and much hard fighting, the Sultan became master of Bokhara and Samarkand, and "the country of Transoxiana was for a time cleared of the Usbegs, after they had held it for about nine years." We are compelled to pass hastily over this period of Baber's eventful career. "Never," says Mr. Erskine, "till his
'conquest of India, were the dominions of Baber so extensive
'as at this period. They stretched from the deserts of Tartary
'to the furthest limits of Ghuzni, Koondooz, and Hissar,
'Samarkand and Bokhara, Farjana, Tashkend and Seiram.
'Caubul and Ghuzni he now gave to his youngest brother
'Nasir Mirza. When Baber became possessed of these exten-
'sive dominions, he had reached his twenty-ninth year."

There was a promise now of continued tranquillity, but soon the promise was obscured. A new danger threatened the Sultan from an unexpected quarter; and he soon lost all that he had won. Sectarianism was this time his destroyer. He had been aided by Persia, and now he began to adopt Persian customs, and to put his soldiers in Persian uniforms. He made enemies, therefore of the Soonies. The Mussulmans of Bok-

* Yesawal.

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hara and Samarkand were deeply offended. Insurrection soon began to kindle, and the priesthood fanned the fire. Orthodoxy was rampant; and the influence of the King began to decline. This loss of popularity encouraged the Usbegs; and Baber suffering defeat after defeat, was compelled to fly from Transoxiana and to return to Caubul. There his brother came out to meet him and resigned the Government into his hands. Here he remained for some time, varying the monotony of his rule, by continual forays against the neighbouring tribes—Hazarehs, Ennauks and others. But these petty exhibitions did not suffice for his ambition. He again began to indulge in the old day-dreams of the invasion of Hindoostan.

Opportunity at last offered for the gratification of his darling wish. His first efforts across the Indus were taken in conjunction with others, who had entered projects similar in kind, but not so grand in degree. It is well known that these initiatory expeditions were attended with no great success. It is the common lot of Eastern Princes to be recalled from schemes of foreign conquest, by dangers threatening them at home. Many an invader has been hurried back by fear of the loss of his own dominions during his absence. Of these early expeditions we do not purpose to speak in detail. Mr. Erskine, after long and elaborate research, is obliged to acknowledge that the history of these early expeditions is enveloped in considerable obscurity. The second expedition, indeed, is dismissed in a single paragraph, in which the historian states that authorities are divided as to whether the Sultan visited Mooltan and Lahore, and even penetrated as far as Sirhind, or whether he stopped short at Peshawur.

The fourth expedition undertaken in the year 1523-1524, made Baber master of the Punjab. Having secured his conquest, he made several of his chief officers governors of the country, and returned to Caubul. Here the Sultan Alla-ood-deen, a claimant to the throne of Delhi, but now a fugitive, invited Baber to unite with him in an expedition against the famous capital of the Mogul Princes of India. Of this man, and of the spirit in which Baber entered into the design, for the conquest of the rich territory on the banks of the Jumna, Mr. Erskine says :—

> Alá-ed-dín, or, as he is generally called, Alim Khan, was the son of Sultan Behlul Lodi, King of Delhi; and, consequently, was the brother of the late Sultan Sekander, and uncle of the reigning Prince Ibrahim. After his father's death, one of Sultan Sekander's first acts was to deprive his brother, Alim Khan, of his jágír of Ráberi. Alim, who escaped, re-

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mained for some time hostile to him; but afterwards was reconciled, and received the jágír of Etáwa. He is said, however, to have fled to Gujrát, where he was protected by Sultan Mozeffer, who then reigned. On the death of his brother Sekander, Alim Khan openly aspired to the throne. In the distracted state of affairs that followed, he had secured a considerable number of partizans among the Afghán lords, who were disgusted with his nephew's cruel and imperious conduct. All these were prepared to favour his enterprise. He was willing to purchase the co-operation of Baber at a high price; and it seems to have been settled that, while the Sultan, Alá-ed-dín as he was called, was to be elevated to the throne of Delhi, Baber was to receive the formal cession of Lahur and all the countries west of it, in full sovereignty. This formal confirmation of Baber's right of conquest was something gained, in the meanwhile, for public opinion; and, as political justice was not the virtue of the age, Baber probably calculated, that, if affairs turned out prosperously, it would be an easy matter to cast down the puppet king whom he had set up. He accordingly sent back Sultan Alá-ed-dín, to his generals who commanded at Lahur, with a body of troops, and a firman enjoining them to assist him in his expedition against Delhi. He intimated his intention to follow without delay.

This expedition which is called the fourth, was in reality, never undertaken by Baber. He himself was recalled by intelligence to the effect that the Usbeg chiefs had assembled their forces, and were laying siege to Balkh. The expedition was therefore, undertaken by his ally, who was well inclined to turn to his own advantage the absence of his confederate. But hearing that his interests were jeopardised, he soon detached himself from Balkh, and prepared to descend upon India with a larger force than he had ever mustered before. But even then it was contemptible in numbers. Mr. Erskine says that the whole—troops, servants, camp-followers of every description included, amounted only to twelve thousand men. It was a force powerful, at least, in this respect, that it was easy to move and easy to subsist. Strength does not always lie in numbers. We are apt to associate with our ideas of these invasions, immense bodies of fighting men, and to wonder sometimes how they were provisioned—but here we see that Baber set out, on his last, his greatest, and his successful expedition for the conquest of India, with a force which probably did not contain more than five thousand soldiers.

Here, for the present, we must pause. The conquest of India by the Emperor Baber may well afford matter for a separate paper. Up to this point—at which we reach the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century—we see that his career has been distinguished by the most astonishing vicissitudes. It is to the eternal honor of Baber that he bore all these changes in a manly and becoming spirit. Habituated

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to misfortune, he encountered it with a brave heart and a smiling face. Surrounded at all periods of his career by avowed enemies and treacherous friends, he met their hostility or their guile, in a frank, open, courageous manner, never borne away by passion and never descending to deceit. He was as little possessed by malice as by fear. He freely forgave his enemies; he was incapable of cruelty; and never resorting to treachery himself, he was unsuspicious of the treachery of others. In spite of all the underrating, and indeed, the corrupting circumstances of such a career at such a time, he retained a certain simplicity and *nàiveté* of character, which is charmingly illustrated in his autobiography—a memoir of which it has been truly said, that it is "as instructive as Xenophon and as amusing as Pepys'." His talents, too, were of a very high order. He might have been a poet or a philosopher, if he had not been a prince and a hero. Circumstances made him a warrior; and as such he was unequalled in his own,—perhaps in any other times. At all events, it may with truth be said, that history furnishes nothing more romantic, than the romance of Baber's character and Baber's career.

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ART. V.—1. *A Discourse on Translation, with Reference to the Educational Despatch of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, of the 19th July*, 1854. *By James R. Ballantyne, L. L. D., Principal of the Government College, Benares. Printed at the Expense of the Government, N. W. P., Mirzapore*, 1855.

2. *Ré-prints for the Pandits. Allahabad*, 1853-54-55.

3. *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XXII.—Correspondence Relating to Vernacular Education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. Returns Relating to Native Printing Presses and Publications in Bengal. A Return of the Names and Writings of 515 persons connected with Bengali Literature, either as Authors or Translators of Printed Works, chiefly during the last fifty years; and a Catalogue of Bengali Newspapers and Periodicals which have issued from the Press, from the Year 1818 to 1855, submitted to Government by the Rev. J. Long. Correspondence relating to the Question whether the Assamese or Bengali Language should be taught in the Assam Schools. Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces for the first Quarter of 1855-56.*

4. *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XIV.—Papers Relating to the Establishment of the Presidency College of Bengal.*

5. *Selections from the Records of Government, N. W. P., Part XX.—Report on Educational Books in the Vernacular.*

6. *Report of the Board of Education, Bombay, from May 1, 1854, to April 30, 1855.*

7. *Thoughts on Education in India, its Object and Plan, to which are appended Regulations for Schools and Colleges, &c. By Thomas A. Wise, M. D, H. E. I. C. S., F. R. S. E. formerly Secretary to the Council of Education, Bengal, &c. London*, 1854.

FEW maxims have been so often ascribed by general consent to the author of the *Novum Organum*, and few have exerted so great an influence on the mass of the half-educated, and the aspirants after literary fame or social position, as "Knowledge is Power." Bulwer never wrote so well nor so healthfully as when, in the persons of worthy Parson Dale and philosophic Dr. Riccabocca, he expounds to Leonard Fairfield, the representative of the Faust-like many in the lower ranks of life, who would struggle up to glory by the ladder of literature or socialism, the true meaning of this

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maxim, but in a sense far more restricted, and very different from that, in which either the defenders or destroyers of "popular ignorance" understand it. It is not *all* power, nor is it exclusively *the* power of the first magnitude, but it is *a* power, which in itself and its effects is so grand and glorious, that we need not wonder that the mass of the unthinking multitude were led into the belief that it was *the* power, and that the lips of the great sage of Verulam had spoken it, though, when applied to his own life, it might seem indeed a paradox. If knowledge is power, using both subject and predicate in a most unlimited sense, then it is so alone to the Deity, for the very first taste that man got of this knowledge at once deprived him of all power, and sent him forth helpless and desolate, that he might produce from the depths of his own soul appliances and thoughts, which, unguided by the God who is Himself the incarnation and fountain of knowledge, led him into sin, death and woe. *True* knowledge is power; not a knowledge of the true or the good, for such may be and often is false and imperfect, but a knowledge so free from prejudice and imperfection—so guarded from all *idola* and mists, that he who possesses it can say with all the assurance of a martyr of old, and all the dignity of a true man, 'I know.' Such true and perfect knowledge of that which is true and perfect can be gained only fully in that world, "where we shall know even as we are known," and in this, only from that volume of knowledge, in which God himself condescends to instruct, and where, when our poor reason cannot mount up to His unsearchable wisdom, He says, "Believe and Live."

While then the Christian says knowledge is power only in so far as it is child-likeness, the latest of all schools of thought utters forth, in the person of Sir W. Hamilton, its great words, knowledge is power only in so far as it is *impotence*. Nor is this a paradox. It may be to the idealistic Teuton who, pursuing his ontological method, stands face to face with the mighty problems of knowing and being, of believing and worshipping, that have tortured mens' souls, since first Paradise heard the words, "Ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil," but to the student of the "Philosophy of the Conditioned," and to the men of common-sense and truthful hearts, it is a great fact that "all knowledge lies between two extremes or contradictories—one of which must be true, both cannot." A consideration of the great events of Providence, both in history and revelation, may make us necessitarians, or, theologically speaking, Calvinists, but we listen for a moment to the whisper-

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ings of our own consciousness, which is the Bible of Philosophy, and we know, we are convinced, we are *conscious* that we are free, and we are, theologically speaking—Arminians. But the true disciple of knowledge says, with a child-like faith: "Friends ye are both right, and both wrong; right in what ye assert, wrong in what ye deny; as Isaac Taylor says, ye are like philosophers who dispute about the figure that will harmonise, ellipse, parabola and hyperbola—wait a little and God may shew you the Cone." The last and greatest voice of western philosophy, the man that at once leaped into Aristotle's chair and Kant's, has thus declared that knowledge is impotence, and when we hear the oft-quoted proverbs, "The first step to be wise is to know that we are ignorant," and 'he best guards the castle, who knows all its weakest points,' we feel that the philosopher and the vulgar may meet on the great platform of common sense and a common Christianity.

But in what true sense alone may it be said that 'knowledge is power,' or is the power, or the greatest power? It is a trite saying even in Bengal. The dominion of the British in India proclaims it, all the supports on which that dominion securely rests proclaim it. It is power to civilise, power to Christianise, power to raise 150 millions of degraded, superstitious, ignorant, obscene idolaters half-way up to heaven, or at least to such a position that they can climb along the rest of the road themselves. But to them the knowledge and education that we have given has not been power. They have not sought it for that object, unless as an ultimate or ulterior one. They have sought it pre-eminently for Rupees—and in doing this they have followed our example. And not only have they sought it, but used it, worshipped it, alone for Rupees. Theirs has been no all-absorbing energy, no gigantic drunkenness of knowledge that would make them go through fire and water for its sake, theirs have been no holy burning aspirations for truth, with its divine mantle of purity, goodness and love, they have never had long cryings, and weepings, and wrestlings with self, to get the Devil of Ignorance out of them, and the God of Truth within. They have said simply, Let us *know*, not all, nor the best, nor the true for its own sake, but know, that which we may convert into gold, that which will let us die in ease, in our filthy villages, in our ill-drained cities, that which will still keep our wives as slaves and our widows as prostitutes, our country a blot upon semi-civilisation, and ourselves as our fathers were. They have said let us know only for self-interest, only for that which is outward; and so, Rupees, and the brandy-cup and bazaar dissipation they have known. To them their

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knowledge has not been power, because they have been unfitted to secure it. But it has not been power for another reason—it has not been true perfect knowledge. It has been partial and false. It has pretended toleration of the great truth that lies at the bottom of all religions—a sinful man and a wrathful Deity, but it has been openly intolerant of the greatest of all systems, that offers to take away at once man's sin and God's wrath. Seed and soil, the truth and its recipients, have alike been bad, and the crop has been one of baneful weeds, and poisonous vegetation,—infidelity, hollowness, vice and Sadduceism in all their worst forms. True knowledge then is true power, and will be so to Bengal, when it becomes impregnated with the very souls of its votaries, when it is not worshipped, as now, afar off and partially, for some of its benefits, but for itself, for its own delights, for its happiness here, its heaven hereafter.

It is not our object to enter into a discussion of the merits and demerits of that Government system of Education, which strives to impart this knowledge to the millions of India. We merely wish to state the fact distinctly and somewhat to illustrate it, that the western literature and languages have been, and still continue to be, alien to the Hindoo mind, that we have educated men who have given the world no adequate return for it all, that not a Hindoo *feels*, realizes to the extent that we would wish him, or to any extent, the power, and the sweets of knowledge, that hence he cannot communicate to others either the true knowledge or the love for it, that we English Educators are thus going on in a circle of non-advancement, and that instead of teaching India to educate, and finally to govern herself, which as true civilisers ought to be our object, we must go on for ever as we are doing, without any gain to the cause of Truth, and Civilisation and Christ.

The case stands thus, and Dr. Ballantyne is the man, we conceive, who has most earnestly set himself to understand and solve it, with a view to the ultimate good of India's sons. On the one side are the western languages and literatures, on the other Oriental minds, already ill-trained by their own languages and literature. How get the former to the latter, so as to become part of it, incorporated with it? How remove all obstacles—what are these obstacles? That these obstacles exist, and that they have not yet been surmounted, all Missionaries, Teachers, and Government alike confess. We do not wish to revive the old contest, between Anglicists and Orientalists, because we believe that, among sensible scholars, such a contest should not have arisen. Without at all consulting the science of Comparative Philo-

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logy. History tells us, that no nation has ever yet been civilized or educated, save through its own vernacular, and that the up-rooting of a vernacular is the extermination of the race, or at least of all its peculiar national characteristics. Speech, Thought and Existence are so closely bound together, that it is impossible to separate them. They are the great trinity in unity of the race. If then we strive to up-root the vernacular of a country, or to deluge it not only with foreign modes of thought, but with foreign words, we shall either make no progress, or such a progress that we would speedily wish to undo it. But the Government system of Education has thus acted, urged on, we believe, by the success that Missionaries have met with in the same direction. While Missionaries attended to both English and the vernacular ;—English for the higher, vernacular for the lower classes, the Government attended alone to the former, and beginning at the wrong end—the top of the tree, they thought that like air-plants they would make education grow downward, and so had colleges without schools, and schools without primary schools, and Inspectors, with schools to create for their inspection. Making but one faint attempt to raise native teachers—an attempt that from the first contained in it the elements of its own destruction, they went on using foreigners and a foreign tongue, and a foreign literature, and thus never reached those inner springs of thought and action, that exist even in a Bengallee's soul, and will yet make a man of him and men of his nation.

But not merely has Vernacular Education been neglected for the undue development of that in a foreign tongue. Another great cause of the non-success of the western languages and literatures, as a means of education in India, has been total and entire—not separation from, but opposition to Christianity. We are by no means advocates for the *teaching* of Christianity in Government schools, or for Government itself stepping boldly forward in defence or encouragement of its own religion. Injury would be done if this were the case. If the Emperor were Christian, all the Empire would speedily become so too, and if Government make a *profession* of Christianity a condition of eating its salt, Hindoo pagodas and Moslem mosques will speedily become Christian temples, as in the days of Constantine of old. But this western literature and civilisation is, like all other civilisation, so truly Christian in its basis, its structure, and its whole character, that the Government who use it as an instrument must do so with one of two necessary results; either teach it as only it can be taught, by a true Christian and with

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the spirit and truth of one, or in teaching it, forbid all allusion to Christianity, and thus destroy the every essential element of what is taught, and turn it into the most powerful servant of barbarism, idolatry and the devil, instead of making it the aider of civilisation, knowledge and refinement. We look at it in this light. The Government must either teach English, or they must not. If they must not do it, then their function as civilisers ceases, they are of no more use in India, their day is finished, they are weighed in the balances and found wanting. God must cut them down as cumberers of the ground. If, urged on by their own innate nature or destiny, and public opinion, they must teach it, then it must so be taught, that all that constitutes its truth, its beauty, its heavenliness—in a word its *power*, shall not be struck out and eliminated. But Christianity constitutes this—from its very nature, from the history of the nations that have professed it, from the great voice of all history and civilisation, which has Christ as its alpha and omega, its beginning and end, its circle, its centre, its focus. If then the Government must educate India, and the English language and literature must be the only means of so educating, it is false to its destiny, false to itself, false to that which has made it what it is—the Queen of nations, false to poor groaning, struggling Indian humanity, false to the cause of the slave and the sinner, false to its Saviour, false to its God, if it eliminates from that education all that makes it of any value all that gives it a separate individual existence. That it has done so, the state of India, viewed as a whole, the state of Young Bengal in particular, and the character (viewed in a spiritual aspect) of the men who conduct it—all these prove. English education in India must have that Christian spirit (not system of Christian dogmata) restored to her, which has been forcibly taken away, and the whole question of the relation of its modes of thought and great truths to the vernaculars of the country thoroughly considered. It is with the latter that we have now chiefly to do, and the whole question has been again raised by the recent Education Despatch.

So slow had been the progress of English education in India, that, when the Government were forced to carry out the wise and liberal provisions of the Despatch, they were unprepared for it. New principles were promulgated, new institutions hinted at, new men desired, new systems proposed. What the people who had an interest in India wanted was—no more dabbling, no more deceiving, but a bold open manly all-embracing system of education, that would give the millions of the land a chance of becoming men at least, and possibly also Christians. But in

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the way of this there stood the indifference of the Government here, and the dividends of the Directors at home. So time was lost and will be lost, promises were made and never performed, honesty was openly professed and inly despised, and the pecuniary benefits of the grant were confined to certain districts, on account of the insignificance of the sum. But we trust that better times are fast approaching, when what has hitherto been done by precedent and rule of thumb, will be either done or undone on great, broad, and universally recognised common sense and Christian principles. We feel that there is arising in the hearts of those who are at the head of the Educational Department, a calm, philanthropic desire, to advance the cause of civilisation in India, by means of a thorough and systematic course of Education. Hitherto spasmodic efforts only have been put forth on all great efforts by the Indian Government. Urged on by the overwhelming force of public opinion, which seemed ever to increase, and feeling that it was well to have some good deed of which their Parliamentary supporters could honestly speak in the House, they have now and then initiated schemes, and sometimes honestly carried them out, which had for their object the present social and ultimate Christian elevation of the people of India, but which, save for such an external impetus, would never have seen the light.

The two elements that have hitherto been wanting in the British Government of India, and the absence of which has been especially noticeable in the history of its educational moments, are, first, an intelligent and serious fixing of principles of just Government, immutable principles, not to be shaken by any abstract theories, or private hobbies, and secondly, a common stern honesty in carrying these out to their natural and logical tendency, an honesty not to be bribed by self-interest, political ambition, nepotism, or a foolish want of judgment and inability to say, no. Of late, and especially under the Government of Lord Dalhousie, these have been much more seen, but he has failed to carry into all the lower and subordinate parts of the Services, the same stern decision and unswerving adherence to principles, which have characterised his own acts, and made him not merely the best Governor-General that we have ever had, but the best possible for an Asiatic State, and for the peculiar circumstances and institutions of Oriental life. It may be true that abstractly his principles have not always been just, but he has carried them out fully wherever they have led him, he has boldly proclaimed them, he has acted on them with decision,

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he has not been afraid of the consequences, *and he has always met with success.* Compared with him the subordinate rulers have been cowards, because they have not thought out their own principles for themselves. Taking them at second-hand, they have felt no affection for them as for their own offspring, and have acted apathetically, which in India means dishonestly. A little of Cromwell's spirit is needed in ruling Asiatics, and especially Bengallees, but too seldom have they gone to Cromwell's God for inspiration, too seldom have they said, "By the might of the Lord of Hosts, will I do this," too seldom have individual rulers placed themselves in an elevated position and, surveying the mighty mass of degraded Indian humanity, resolved to spend and be spent that they become now, what destiny points out they shall be—manly, civilised and Christian men and women.

There has been no honest exposition of principles on the part of the Government here, no desire to meet all classes of Christians and natives, Missionaries and heathens alike, but a withdrawing from the full extent of that responsibility given by the Board of Control at home. Had the entire management of the Educational Department been removed from the Government of Bengal, where principle is too often, under the present *régime*, sacrificed to expediency, and at least logical honesty to party interest, India might have at this hour been a hundred years nearer the goal of enlightenment. Dalhousie never truckles, never forgets a principle for a favourite, never sacrifices the weal of millions to the advancement of individuals. But there was a more important respect in which the Educational Despatch found education here. *There was no educational machinery*—no good Normal School for rearing teachers, no regular plan of schools, no primary schools, no Gymnasia or High Schools, no Colleges, no Universities in regular gradation. All this had to be created. There was no plan of study, no uniform course of school-books, no educational requisites. It is true that the grant was, at that time, very small. But it was not too small to squander on books and translations that now rot in the Government godowns and unsold unread. Above all neither Government nor its teachers, nor the Missionary teachers had settled on a uniform principle of translation of foreign terms and phrases. Now it was Romanising, now Orientalising, now clothing the English in an Oriental dress, and now giving it in its own, now translating it and now transliterating it. Many absurd examples of this "varied folly" could be given, and some are in the works before us.

Oxygen ..... *Aksijen.*
Hydrogen ..... *Haidragen.*

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Chlorine gas	*Klárin gess.*
Hydriodate of Potash	*Haidraiyadet áf Patáss.*
Political Economy	*Pálitikal Ihánami.*
Conscience	*Kánshínss.*
Moral Sense	*Maral Sinss.*

ARABIC.

Philosopher	*Failsuf.*
Εισαγωγη (Introduction to Logic)	*Isa ghoji, &c., &c.*

The question then before us is, at this, the very starting point of a new educational era, on what principle are we to adapt the thoughts, accurate, scientific and exact of the cold West, to the languages, loose, metaphorical and dreamy of the apathetic East. Words, as the Philosopher and Logician tell us, are of such terrible importance to thoughts, that they may be said to fossilise and render them eternal. If in their passage to another soil, they loose any of their exactitude or true meaning, they become false and give to the mind utterly untrue notions of that which ought to be communicated. The object is then to communicate foreign ideas, already carefully locked up in foreign terms, to other souls imperfectly prepared to receive them, and so to communicate them that they shall be perfectly comprehended, remembered, and afterwards used in all their fulness. Two things are thus necessary :—

1.—The strict philological and scientific meaning of the word must be preserved.

2.—It must yet be translated in such a way that the recipient oriental mind can fully understand and afterwards apply it.

Either of these by itself is easy. The former by the method that we have already ridiculed, the latter by, as literally as possible, translating the terms into the vernacular.

Induction	*Vyápti-graha* (the cognizance of pervadedness.)
Physics	*Gati-sthiti-káranya vidyá* (the science of the causes and conditions of motion and rest.)
Statics and Dynamics, of Solids	*Ghana-padártha—gati-sthiti-vidyá.*
Lever	*Uttolanda danda* (lifting rod.)

Chemical terms may be expressed by the Hindus with even more scientific and descriptive accuracy than by ourselves.

Oxygen	*Pránaprada* (the air that give us breath.)

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Nitrogen ..... { *Juvantáka* (that which puts an end to life.)
Hydrogen ..... *Jalakara* (the water former.)
Chlorine ..... *Harita* (the greenish coloured.)

But we shall quote at length from Dr. Ballantyne's Discourse :—

Of the nine simple non-metallic bodies that are not gaseous, two, viz, Sulphur (*gandkaha*) and Carbon (*angára*), have Sanskrit names. Boron, as it is the basis of borax (*tanka*), we therefore call *tankopádána* ; Sillicon is the generator of flint,—*agniprasthara-janaka* ; Selenium,—so named after the moon, we have likewise named after the moon,—*chandra*,—it being a matter of moonshine what so rare and unimportant a substance be denominated. Phosphorus is *prakásada* 'the giver of light;' Bromine is *puta* 'the fetid;' Iodine is *aruna*,—the name, like the Greek one, referring to the violet colour of its vapour ; and Fluorine is *káchaghna-janaka* 'the generator of that (fluoric acid) which corrodes glass.'

Of those metals which have no names in Sanskrit, Platinum, the 'heaviest of metals, is, with allusion to its weightiness, named *gurutama* ; and Potassium, the 'lightest,' *laghutama*. Sodium is 'the basis of culinary salt'—*lavana-kara* ; and Calcium, 'the basis of nodular limestone,'—*sarkará-kara*, Zinc, the Urdu name of which is *dasta*, we have named *dasta*—with allusion to the way in which its oxide, the 'philosophical wool,' is 'tossed about' in the air.

Taking such, then, as the names that we have to deal with in forming the names of Compounds,—we come first to Binary compounds. Compounds must have names suggestive of the fact they are *acid* or otherwise. The termination *ic* belongs to the Sanskrit as well as to the Latin,—so that Sulphur and Sulphuric Acid can be satisfactorily rendered *gandahaka* and *gándhakikámla*. To the acids in *ous* another termination *(ya)* has been appropriated. To the non-acid Binary compounds, without attempting at present to fix separate terminations for the several varieties, the general termination *ja*—meaning 'produced from'—has been assigned. Thus an Oxide is *pránapradá-ja* ; a Chloride *harita-ja* ; and so on. The Alkalis—potassa and soda—take feminine names according to the analogy of the Latin, from those of their metallic bases,—thus—*laghuámá* and *lavana-ákará*.

Coming to the compounds of compounds, as the acid affix *ic* changes to *ate* in the name of the resulting salt, the Sanskrit *ika* is replaced by *Ayita*. Thus, as the Sulphuric Acid gives a Sulphate, the *gándhakikámla* gives a *gandhakáyita*. It should be unnecessary to remark, that the suitableness of these names is not to be estimated on the principle which led the British sailor to set down the Spaniards as a nation of fools because they call a hat a *sombrero*. To the British sailor the word had sounds much more natural than sombrero ; and for like reasons Sulphate of Soda may seem to sound much more natural than *lavana-karáya gándhakáyitam*. But as 'hat' is not good Spanish, so 'Sulphate of Soda' is not good Sanskrit ; and this leads us to forestall another criticism of kindred calibre. Is the sombrero-like expression, *lavana-karáyáyandhakáyitam*, good Sanskrit ? The question is not to be resolved by submitting the term to a Sanskrit grammarian ignorant of physical science,—to whom, without an attentive, serious, ingenuous, and uncavilling study of the tract in which it appears, the term has a *right* to be as obscure as the term Binoxalate of Potassa to the grandfathers of Lindley Murray.

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We heartily thank Dr. Ballantyne, for the manly common sense views that he has expressed in this Discourse, and though the fact that it has been published under the sanction of the Government of the North Western Provinces, does not necessarily bind that Government to act up to all its statements, yet we trust that we may take such a fact as a pledge of something new, more liberal and more scientific in educational efforts in India. This discourse is the most excellent exposition of true education, as applied to India, that we have met with. It strives to reach principles acknowledged by all teachers and all philologers, it deduces their tendencies most logically and fearlessly, and applies them to the peculiar state of the Indian mind, with a wisdom that only experience and common sense can have given. Our readers will pardon us if we shortly analyse it. At the same time with all our admiration of it, and its author, we go one step beyond, whither, we fear, he would not follow us, and say, but the aid of the Classics is wanted to make your system and views perfect. Of this, however, more anon.

Dr. Ballantyne opens by stating the circumstances that have fitted him for successfully dealing with such a subject—his own position as Principal of the Benares College, and the educational experiments he has made there on the one hand, and the peculiar ignorance and indifference of all in India to Educational interests on the other. Like a true philosopher, he first understands his tools, and accordingly proceeds to define such vaguely used terms as, Education, Schools, India, the Vernacular, Native Learning, &c. On 'Education' he gives forth no uncertain sound, and we would that all in India—Government, Natives, Christians, and especially Government Teachers, would weigh well the following remarks:—

> Education is too generally held to be synonymous with professional training; and, if advocated, or acquiesced in, is too generally tolerated only as such. When a man holding such a view, and looking on the professionally trained pupil merely as an available instrument, speaks with another man who holds the pupil to be not a mere instrument, but an end in himself, the colloquy must prove highly distasteful to both. Education is the educing, or eliciting, the faculties of the pupil, with a view first to his own benefit,—and this not necessarily without a view to the benefits which such an educing of the pupil's faculties may incidentally, as it will most probably, procure for others. Education, thus viewed, admits of wide differences in degree. I wish much to extricate the question of these differences in degree from their usual lax, crude, confused, agglomeration under the one term "Education";—and to show how, if things were settled satisfactorily, as I trust they shortly will be, each advocate of Education might have under his eye a school producing the identical species (and, if so were his humour, that only) of pupils whom he cares to

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see in existence. The energetic magistrate who wishes to map his district, calls out for youths competent to survey. Very good. Supply following demand, youths learn how to use the surveying instruments and they do the work. That the work has been done, is a good thing, and it is assuredly no harm to the youths that they have learned to do the work; but, unless the mathematical principles have been mastered, there is here no *education*. Again, in the dispensary of a Civil Surgeon, the native deputy must be quite expert in finding the right bottles from which the doses are to be made up. But if the doses be properly made up, the Civil Surgeon is not likely to trouble himself as to whether his *instrument* understood the whole rationale of the process. The assistant is here not a *person*, but an *instrument*,—a *thing*. Except, however, where a man is recognised as a *person*, there is no education of him. Under other circumstances we may *teach* him,—but we are not then educating,—we are only polishing our *tool*. You break your horse, for your own convenience, into a trot or an amble,—but this is not education.

With reference to *schools* he asks for order, regularity, gradation. And as to India, he objects to its being viewed as 'one homogeneous unit,' and the vernacular as one language. The 'Native Learned' he divides into the two classes of those who study Arabic, and those who study Sanskrit, while he says that of really learned men who have studied both, he has met with no specimen. Like a wise man, and one who knows both, he declines to enter into the question, which is the more important, Arabic or Sanskrit? but as having more recently and fully studied the latter, all his reasonings and illustrations are drawn from it. He draws attention to the question whether India is to be educated by an English or Native Agency, chiefly with the view of insisting on the impossibility of the former always being recognised. He sneers at the hope, so often expressed, of a terminology in science that shall be cosmopolitan, applicable to all nations and all languages; and shews that in deciding the question what scientific terminology must be adopted in India, we must not consult the convenience of Europeans, but the ultimate good of native students, by teaching them to be not parrots but thinkers. This terminology then must be fed from the sources of the Arabic and the Sanskrit. Ere illustrating the principles already laid down by an application to the various sciences, he once more states what is *not*, and what is the end in view in educating India.

What is *not*?—

In designing an educational course, if we are to go to work methodically, systematically, and profitably, then regard must be had to the end and to the means. Where no distinct end, or not the same end, is kept in view by those who take part in a discussion, agreement as to the means is pretty well out of the question. And Bacon says, how can we hope to achieve the course if we have not first distinctly fixed the goal? It may

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be said, indeed, that there are more goals than one, inasmuch as we do not expect all our pupils to go as far as the one who goes the furthest. Be it so; but let us first settle the goal for that *one*, and then the various stages which the others may content themselves with reaching, will all lie along that more extended course.

What *is* Dr. Ballantyne's end?—

Shall our absolutely ultimate end, then, be the production of a first-rate engineer, or of a valuable revenue officer, or of an accomplished native magistrate? With those who would answer "yes," I entertain little sympathy. *My proposed end is the making of each educated Hindu a Christian,—not like those of us who are Christians because our grandmothers were such,—but on principle and conviction. This end, as I propose here to indicate, implies every thing that the amplest course of education can comprise. Let us commence analytically, and trace this assertion backward,—as thus. That a Hindu should, on principle and conviction, embrace a religion which, like Christianity, bases its claims on historical evidence, presupposes not merely an acquaintance with historical assertions, but a cultivation of the critical faculty, so as that the force of the historical evidence may be intelligently felt.* The immediate preparation for a critically intelligent study of history, is the study of Physical Geography; for a history, all of whose assertions are found quite inconsistent with the multifarious information supplied by Physical Geography, must be felt to present very different claims on our respect from those of a *Purana*, with its nowhere discoverable oceans of treacle, cane-juice, and butter-milk. But to apprehend with full intelligence what is presented of Physical Geography, a knowledge of Zoology, Botany, and Geology are required. The full appreciation of these, again, pre-supposes Chemistry, in all its extensive bearings on Meteorology, climate, &c. The Study of Chemistry must be preceded by that of Physics. Physics demands an anterior acquaintance with the sciences of Number and Magnitude,—sciences which present the most elementary exemplification of applied Logic. Such is a rapid enumeration of the great steps in the intellectual course. How the moral course combines with this, we shall see, when, returning on our steps synthetrically, we enquire what apparatus of educational materials the course above indicated will require.

Now to forestall objections. First, it may be objected as follows: "You call this an intellectual course,—it is all science,—mere knowledge;—but are we to have no applied science?—are we not to teach the *arts*?" I reply,—assuredly you have got to teach these; and if you wish to teach them effectually, you will take care that your exposition of each of them shall emanate from a previously well-digested exposition of the sciences from which the arts draw their life-blood. Your instructions in Surveying will bear reference to your scientific exposition of Geometry and Arithmetic—and will be given in the accurately determined language of those scientific expositions. Your Pharmacy will be founded on your scientific exposition of Chemistry, and will avail itself of Chemical language and of Chemical principles. You will not,—it is to be hoped,—when penning practical instructions for the miner, ignore the scientific views and terms of your Geology. In short, all treatises on the arts, ought to bear reference to the parent sciences, and should be constructed in such exact accordance with the exposition of the parent sciences, that the artist may have nothing to unlearn, or to confuse him, when he turns to the expositions of the parent sciences for fresh suggestions in the prosecution of his art. Hence, in a systematic preparation of a literature, we must,

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except in cases of urgency, attend to science first: and even in the exceptional cases, you must regard your first rude manuals of art as merely provisional, and as awaiting the rectification which a thorough exposition of the parent sciences will subsequently render possible.

A second probable objection is this, that the course indicated above presents the sciences in an order which is not adapted to practical education. That you should begin with Logic,—then proceed to Mathematics, (including all its branches),—go next to Physics, and so proceed through the whole series of the sciences, before reading a page of History, or a chapter of Zoology, is not feasible. True,—nor do I intend that anything of the kind should be attempted. A boy may with great advantage store his mind with passages of History before he is at all qualified to decide on the historian's claims to respect; and he may, not unprofitably, become acquainted with the chemical characters of the gases, though he may not have studied Physics so as thoroughly to understand the physical principles on which the manipulation of the gases depends;—and he may profitably become familiar with the Mechanical Powers, even when his mathematical acquirements are but slender;—and he may advisably prosecute his mathematical studies pretty far, before he turns his attention to the general laws of Reasoning,—to that abstract science, of which all other sciences are the concrete embodiments. But still the books which he reads ought all to be constructed in prospective contemplation of his eventually coming to recognise the chain of evidence in all its strength and in the logical order of its links. This cannot be expected if no attention, in the preparation of the course, be paid to the order of the links.

A third objection may be this that so systematic a course, as that proposed, could not be the result of the independent working of the numerous persons who would be required to work upon it. This I most readily allow; and therefore it is, that I grieve over the comparative waste of a great quantity of independent working, which has hitherto produced loads upon loads of books, and yet, by general admission, no educational course. Look at the voluminous catalogue of the Centralizing Book Society, and see what sort of a course could be culled out of it;—what course such as could train a man's mind, and lead his convictions, with any sort of certainty, in the direction which I have indicated as desirable.

The Italics in this passage are ours, and we honor any Government teacher, when, holding the anomalous position that he does, he can thus fearlessly express himself, that the Christianising of India is the aim of all his education. His end is ours, his end is not Government's nor that of the majority of Government teachers nor the Devil's, but it is that of all who long, and love, and labour, and pray that India may yet rejoice and blossom as the rose. His end is ours, and though the means by which he would gain it are probably not ours, yet we rejoice that such a step in advance has been made.

He then goes on to apply his principles, already laid down, to the various sciences, gives large illustrations (some of which we have already quoted) from his own experience and linguistic knowledge, and finally concludes with a passage that we would

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recommend to the attentive consideration of all Missionaries and Teachers in the country :—

Natural Theology closes the series of our secular teaching ; and at this point I might properly conclude this somewhat lengthened Discourse. I will but indicate the order in which those more solemn subjects might be considered, for which the secular curriculum may be regarded, in its highest aspect, as being preparatory. The conclusion reached by Natural Theology compels the thinking mind to ask the question, " Has the God of Nature anywhere revealed Himself to man?" The answer to this question we offer to the Hindu in our Scriptures. But his compatriots, he replies, have scriptures of their own. True, we rejoin,—but scriptures resting their claims only on the futile ground of self-assertion. Of our own, we tender him the Evidences, Historical, and Internal But the missionary will exclaim—" It is the peculiarity of the Gospel that it is ' preached to the poor ;—and must every poor villager go through all this ' course of training before he can reasonably become a Christian ?" I reply, that such is not at all my meaning. The question on the lip of the uneducated masses is always " Have any of the chief priests or rulers believed on Him ?" When those who are educated shall come to be won over, the uneducated masses will follow. The baptism of a Clovis entails that of armies and of crowds, " But are we not to follow the example of our Lord ?" Let us see what is the example here meant. It is that conveyed, we presume, in the reply to the interrogatory of the Baptist,— " ' The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, ' and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel ' preached to them." If this were designed as our example, why confine ourselves to the last in the list of marvellous works? Is it because, out of the signs of the divine mission here co-ordinately enumerated,—out of the six instances of work accomplished in suspension of the ordinary laws of nature,—the last only, when we have *no* power to suspend the laws of nature, can be imitated without risk of obvious and glaring failure? When our missionaries can raise the dead, or give sight to the blind, then they may hopefully attempt the conversion of a nation by the non-natural process of leavening the lowest first. This much-misunderstood matter has been handled in the clearest and fullest manner by the Rev. John Penrose, in his Bampton Lecture of the year 1803 (—a book which every missionary would do well to read and ponder—) entitled " An Attempt to ' prove the truth of Christianity from the wisdom displayed in its original ' establishment," &c. Far be it from me to wish that the poor should receive one atom less of attention than they receive at present ; but it is not from this quarter,—as the enormous aggregate of avowed missionary failure might suggest,—that any *infectious* extension of the faith will emanate, in an age when miracles have ceased and ought not to be counted on.

In conclusion, I repeat,—and I take leave thus formally to anticipate any misapprehension, which might lead to misrepresentation on this point, —that I have spoken only of the languages whose real nursing parent is the Sanskrit. Of the Urdu and its Arabic foster-mother I may speak hereafter. To sum up,—what I earnestly deprecate at this juncture, is the preparation and promulgation of hybrid treatises, couched in the insoluble and keyless jargon of a sham-vernacular, and crudely constructed on a plausible but most fallacious system of make-believe translation—more properly to be designated " transliteration." I have pretty fully stated my arguments ; is it too much to hope that they may be honoured, by those opposed to me, with a candid perusal, before being challenged or scouted ?

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Our readers will agree with us that this Discourse is another and by no means the least of the services that the author has rendered to sound education in India. Its main object, however, is to condemn 'transliteration' and every thing opposed to true translation. Scientific terms must be translated into clear Sanskrit or Arabic, and suffer as little loss of accuracy or meaning in the process as possible. The technicology of a science is at once the stumbling-block to beginners and their great assistance when somewhat advanced. It will, at once, be granted that by the translator at least the whole meaning and history of the word must be known. He must know two things accurately, the language he translates, and that into which he translates it; but if both cannot be fully known, as is generally the case, then it is of more importance that he should know the language into which he translates, then the other. In translating terms of science, then, we have two classes at work.

1.—The European who knows English (Greek) perfectly and Sanskrit imperfectly.

2.—The Hindoo, who knows Sanskrit and the Vernacular perfectly and English imperfectly (and Greek not at all.)

When the former translates, he does so not for self or father-land, but for another, when the latter translates, he does so into his own mother-tongue for the education of his own countrymen, having in his soul all the feelings of patriotism, and all the ties and associations of home. When the former translates, he does so as a sojourner in a strange land, as a *temporary* dweller who must pass away, or if he really possesses the country, does so for a time as a *patronus* until his pupil shall grow up and seize his own inheritance and enjoy its fruits, when the latter translates, he does so as one who sees his father-land possessed by a stranger, who feels in him the might of a powerful soul, the strength of a semi-civilised nature, and he seeks knowledge and propagates knowledge, only that he may have power—power over his own passions, power over ignorance, power over that double birth-right that God has given him—his speech and his land.

But this is not a matter that we require to argue on at all. Which, we ask, not only ought to be, but now is, according to Dr. Ballantyne's confession, and shortly must be more and more the best adapter of this, the glorious thoughts and systems of thoughts and knowledges of the West to the tongues of the East. Is it not the native, unfit as he may now seem artificially for the task, the native whose land we have taken but for awhile that we may civilise it, the native who has a soul as precious, a mind as powerful, and faculties as subtle as ours? Yes, we proclaim it, in

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these days of annexation, in this 'age of conquest,' in these times of contest, India is not ours, it is given us but as a temporary dwelling place, we are in it but as Stewards of God's heritage. The day fast approaches, we trust, when out of it we must go, out of it—why?—not as defeated usurpers, but with the blessings of a civilised and Christianised continent on our heads, out of it as Howard went out of prisons that he had opened, and swept of their filth and crime.

Shall we then agree that the native is the best translator and adapter? Well, but how defective he is. Allow that he knows Sanskrit and all its vernacular rootlets, allow even that he knows English well as natives know it, how can he fully understand the power and meaning of those terms that we have taken chiefly from Greek and Latin? Evidently he must learn Greek and Latin, he must become a 'Classical' scholar. You cannot avoid the conclusion, if not only now, but for all time, you want Western thought to infuse new life into the Orient. We thus reach at once the necessity for the Classics being studied in India, and that it may not seem too monstrous to our Anglicists and Orientalists, that necessity limits the number and defines the class of those who shall study them. All are not to study them, not even all Pandits and Moulavies. Merely that class in whose hands the intellectual guidance of their country must lie—that class whom we at home call Philosophers or Theologians or Statesmen, but who are all varieties of the one great class—'men of thought and action.' We want the Classics introduced into the higher courses of education in India, that they may raise up a race of men with minds thoroughly disciplined, made accurate, learned and scientific, accustomed to probe things to their very depths and from their depths to bring out gems sparkling rich and rare—gems of pure manly honest, earnest, Godly thought—gems such as a Luther educed in the hour of Europe's midnight darkness,—gems such as a Cromwell cast before the eyes of groaning England—gems such as the heroes of the French Revolution displayed to Europe, gems such as are sprinkled in the battle fields of Alma, Inkermann and Balacklava, such as a pure civilisation gives to all who come under her benign, and though at first warlike—soon peaceful wings.

And is it too much to hope for a 'coming man' to India as well as to Europe and England? Is it too much, ye doubting Missionaries, to pray for a Luther or a Knox, a Chalmers or a Kingsley among your converts? Is it too much ye Educators to look for a man of might amid the ranks of that Young Bengal whom ye have raised? We fear in your case it is, for no sceptic ever yet did a great deed in the world.

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Fanatics have, as Ram and Mahomet, and calm trusty believers have, as Paul and John, but your Humes and your Paines whom you recommend and read in your schools, never yet did but a small amount of good, far more than obliterated by all their wickedness.

But we feel that this Young Bengal Scepticism, this abandonment of superstition in the shape of Hindoo idolatry, for Pyrrhonism in the shape of Vedantism is, and must be, a temporary state. Philosophical Scepticism may be permitted in the case of an individual, and like Hume, he may sink into what he imagines to be utter and oblivious nothingness, with indifference and calm folly; but it has never been so in the case of a nation, or a class, or a large body of individuals. It is impossible that it should be so. The mind clings to a creed,—it must have a belief, and especially a belief in such awful truths, as Consciousness or the Soul within, the World without, God and Immortality above. It is this that makes us feel that Government Education has and will be of use in the accomplishment of the great destiny, which History and the Bible teach us God has in store for India. He makes the wrath of men to praise Him—out of evil He produces good, and, "working in mysterious way," he accomplishes His own ends by what would seem to narrow-sighted mortals, impossible means. India must be civilised and Christianised. It is not only the Bible and Destiny that say so, it is the inborn whisperings and beliefs of the human soul, the innate trust in the promises and laws and experiences of a Being, all Whose acts are right, all the dealings of Whose Providence must tend ultimately to the perfecting of His own people, and the display of His immutable justice against those who have, either actively or passively, attempted to frustrate his ends.

We trust that practically Dr. Ballantyne carries out in his teachings what he has so truthfully, and for a Government servant, boldly stated in this "Discourse." If so, great will be the results. In the stronghold of Hindoo superstition, and surrounded by Mahommedan fanaticism, at the head of a large and important educational institution, daily acquiring a greater and a greater influence over the minds of the future intellectual rulers of their country, having no ecclesiastical status nor priestly connexion to injure that influence, if true to his principles, and his faith, without preaching or proselytising, it will be his high honor to remove a foul stain from Government education, and make Britain in India as in other lands—God's own messenger to Civilise and Christianise the land.

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ART. VI.—1. *Société d' Etudes de l'Isthme de Suez. Travaux de la Brigade Française. Rapport de l'Ingenieur, M. Paulin Talabot*, 1847.

2. *The Isthmus of Suez Question, by M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Minister Plenipotentiary. London*, 1855.

3. *The Dead Sea, a New Route to India; by Capt. William Allen, R. N. London*, 1855.

A JUNCTION between the great Mediterranean and the Red Sea has occupied the attention, not only of modern engineers, but of kings, merchants and men of science even to the most distant ages. Nor has this important matter been regarded merely as a topic for speculation: practical attempts have been made to effect such a junction either in a greater or less degree. Of the efforts made in the days of antiquity, brief but clear notices are contained in the old geographers, Herodotus and Diodorus, Strabo and Pliny. They tell us that Sesostris, eighteen centuries before the Christian era, first formed a plan for connecting the most Eastern arm of the Nile with the Red Sea; that Psammetichus revived it; and that his son, Pharaoh Necho, who slew King Josiah in the battle of Megiddo, actually commenced operations for carrying it into effect. The great mind of Darius Hystaspes at once perceived the vast importance of the scheme to Egyptian commerce; the engineers, whom he appointed completed the canal, and thus, for the first time in the history of civilisation, were the waters of the Upper Nile led at the same hour into the two seas, upon whose shores the learning and power of Egypt had flourished for a thousand years. Herodotus found the canal in actual use, and with his own eyes saw the old Nile boats enter its waters to sail to the Gulf of Heroopolites, which they would reach in four days. The years of anarchy which followed in the decay and subsequent overthrow of the Persian empire brought the work into disuse. But Ptolemy Philadelphus, during his peaceful reign, cleared away its silt, increased its width considerably, and again set it in efficient operation upon a grand scale. Amongst other improvements in the original works, he formed a Euripus, or closed barrier, at its junction with the Red Sea, in order to prevent the salt water from injuring the lower lands at the head of the Gulf, at the season when the Nile inundations had entirely subsided. The customs and transit duties, which the Ptolemies received from

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the passage of merchandise through Alexandria and along this canal, added immensely to their annual revenues. During the Roman times, little mention is made of this canal. Strabo found it in operation, just before the Christian era; and amongst other notices of the localities in its neighbourhood, gives the important information that at that time, the waters of the Bitter Lakes had become sweet from the influx of the Nile, and contained abundance of excellent fish and water-fowl. This fact refutes an idea which had got abroad, and which he erroneously attributes to the engineers of Darius, that the waters of the Red Sea were higher than the lands of the Delta, and that, if freely admitted by means of the canal, they would ruin the whole country. Under the Emperors Adrian and Trajan, a new entrance was made into this canal from the Nile: the Pelusiac arm, from which it had originally been cut, had so far silted up in their day, as to render the canal as difficult of access, as the Ganges is in the cold season by means of the Nuddea rivers; they therefore cut a canal from the Nile near Cairo, thus throwing the junction higher up the stream—a work which secured the same benefit, as Lord Ellenborough proposed by the canal from Nuddea to Rajmahal. Again did this important channel of trade suffer from the decay of the Roman empire; and again was its usefulness revived under the power which succeeded. The Khalif Omar, finding the canal blocked up, re-excavated it, and so successfully, that it continued in use for a century after his death. The Arab traditions contain many illustrations of its usefulness. The plain around Suez, now covered with barren sands, contained numerous gardens, with many kinds of trees, fed by the fresh water which the canal brought in abundance. Kolzum was the trading city, situated on a slight elevation a little to the Northward; it was defended by a small fortress; and though flourishing from its commerce, found a rival in a small Jewish town to the Eastward. The Indian trade was a subject of emulation to both settlements. Suez was a small village inhabited by Arab smugglers, whose only aim, like that of their modern representatives in all parts of the world, was to live on both parties and cheat the Government. The canal remained open for a hundred and twenty-five years, and was finally filled up in certain parts by the Khalif el Mansour.

From these facts it is clear, that this canal of ancient times was limited to a direct communication between the Red Sea and the Nile, and it was only through the Nile, more navigable

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than now for large boats, that it became indirectly a means of communication between the Red and Mediterranean Seas. Completed by Darius, enlarged by Ptolemy, improved by Adrian, re-cleared by Omar, its chief usefulness lay in developing the commerce and resources of Egypt itself; and only indirectly did it aid in the great Eastern traffic which has successively enriched Tyre, Alexandria, Venice and London. Leaving the Eastern arm of the Nile near Bubastis, it passed by a gentle slope from the high edge of the Delta, Eastward through the valley of Goshen to the Bitter Lakes, along whose sides it passed at a level of ten feet above the sea, and finally crossed the sandy plain above Suez at a level of six feet and under, till it reached the sea. Having no artificial reservoir, like the present barrage, its waters of course were dependent upon the state of the annual inundations; and though when at their height, the fresh water would pass through to the sea, yet when the Nile was low, the high tides at Suez would be higher than the waters of the canal, and would carry a stream of salt water up it for nearly twenty miles. It was doubtless this circumstance which gave rise to the erroneous notion that Egypt was on a lower level than the Red Sea tides. The emporium of its trade on the Red Sea shore, was Arsinœ in the classical era, and Kolzum under the Mahommedans. The ruins of these towns, and of others in various parts of the Isthmus, more ancient still, may readily be traced even among the accumulations of sand which cover them. The line of the canal also is in many parts distinctly traceable. At various points, as in the plain of Suez, both embankments are visible; in others but one. The more ancient portions and the more modern repairs may also be distinguished. The Egyptian works are remarkable for their stability, regularity, and size: those of the Mahommedans are much less substantial, regular and finished. Those of the former in the upper part of the canal have been recently re-opened as a canal of irrigation; and other parts can be readily turned to account for traffic, if efficiently repaired and cleared.

The notion of a canal that should more directly unite the two Seas scarcely arose among the ancients; though the moderns have given it much attention. It was natural that with their limited geographical knowledge the importance of such a scheme in extended navigation should remain concealed: and equally natural that as distant countries and nations became connected with each other, its value should be increas-

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ingly appreciated. Amron, the Lieutenant of Omar, was the only one who conceived the thought in ancient times: and distinctly proposed to the Khalif the scheme of a canal across the Isthmus, which should be fed by the waters of the Nile. Apart from all engineering considerations, Omar (who was evidently a pious monopolist) declined the project, from the single fear that it would bring the Christian fleets of the Mediterranean into Mahommedan waters.

Napoleon, when in Egypt, at once took up the question, and appointed a Commission of Engineers to survey the Isthmus and report upon its practicability. Though conducted under many difficulties, the survey was completed. It began in January, 1799; was interrupted in February; was resumed in September, and finished in December of the same year. The operators were several times changed; different kinds of instruments were employed on different portions; the work was executed in long sections; it was done in haste; no results were verified by a second examination: the engineers were interrupted in many ways, and when at work were subject to hostile demonstrations on the part of the Arabs:—it cannot therefore be matter of wonder, that in operations so minute as these of levelling, the conclusions which the Commission arrived at should be filled with errors; errors not springing from incompetence but from their adverse circumstances. Of these conclusions the most extraordinary was, their assurance that the waters of the Red Sea were no less than *twenty-eight feet, seven inches* higher than those of the Mediterranean. While other portions of their report have been little thought of, except amongst well read scholars, this assertion has been extensively promulgated, and believed to be a fact.

In 1847, a new survey of the Isthmus was undertaken by a French Company formed for the express purpose of gathering information on the junction of the two Seas. It was conducted by English, French and Austrian Engineers, amongst whom was Mr. Robert Stephenson. M. Bourdaloue headed the French Staff, which was large and complete, and was assisted throughout by the advice and local knowledge of M. Linant, the Pacha's Director-General of bridges and roads, who had resided in Egypt for many years. The Pacha provided them with every thing required for the safety and convenience of their enterprise, and the party conducted their operations in the most complete and careful manner. The results of these operations are fully detailed in the Report of the French Engineer, M. Talabot, mentioned at the head of this

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article. This admirable paper describes in the clearest manner the work performed by the French Staff of Engineers, and the results at which they arrived respecting the configuration of the Isthmus. It enters also into the physical geography of the Isthmus; gives a brief history of the canals excavated in former years between the Red Sea and the Nile; and then examines the various projects which have been started in modern days for forming a ship canal directly between that Sea and the Mediterranean. For all its interesting and instructive details, we must refer the reader to the Report itself; had it been published in English as well as French, its valuable information would doubtless have tended in a great degree to procure a final settlement of the great question at issue. The result arrived at by M. Bourdaloue and his companions, in reference to the comparative level of the two Seas, proves how incorrect was the assertion of Napoleon's Engineers, that their difference of level was nearly thirty feet. They found that the low-water level at Suez is higher than the similar level at Tineh in the Gulf of Pelusium, by *two feet, seven inches and a half*. The tide rises on the two shores unequally; at Suez the rise is six feet: at Tineh only fifteen inches. With low water, therefore, at Tineh, and high water at Suez, the difference of level never amounts to more than *seven feet, ten inches*. This difference is no greater than that which prevails between Calcutta and Hooghly at the time of the spring tides, before the flood has reached the latter place, a distance of thirty miles by the river. Tineh and Suez are distant sixty-five miles. It has been conjectured that evaporation and other causes have produced this result in the Mediterranean. In spite of the many large rivers, and though almost unaffected by the tides which produce such great changes of level in the Earth's mighty oceans, it would seem to have lost as much as the great current from the West through the Straits of Gibraltar is unable to supply. But be the causes what they may, the discovery of the Engineers of 1847 has received a singular and unexpected confirmation. M. Corabœuf, when completing the triangulation of the Pyrenees, found results which seemed to shew that the Atlantic was *two feet, eleven inches* higher than the Mediterranean.

The Engineers also proved that greatly mistaken notions had prevailed respecting the relative levels of the Red Sea and the land of Egypt. So far from the sea being higher than that part of the country which is fertile and well-peopled; the whole of the Delta, which has received the Nile

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deposits for thousands of years, is much higher than either the Mediterranean or Red Seas. At the great barrage below Cairo, at the head of the Delta, the soil is no less than sixty feet higher than the sea-shore of either Suez or Alexandria.

During the present year, M. Lesseps has endeavoured both in London and Paris again to bring before the scientific, political and commercial world, a plan for cutting an immense canal between the two Seas. Said Pacha has given the plan his attention and approval, and granted to M. Lesseps, a Firman authorizing him to form a Company for securing the desired end, to consist in the first instance of a hundred founding members. By way of encouragement to all parties, the Pacha appropriates to himself by this Firman, fifteen per cent. of the annual net profits, and to the founding members ten per cent. more: leaving the share-holders the remaining seventy-five. The pamphlet which M. Lesseps has recently published in London on the subject, furnishes much information respecting his efforts during the last two years, to place the project on a definite footing. The reader will smile at the position which M. Lesseps himself occupies in the scheme; and regarding him as a fussy, wordy, vain individual, proud of the "twenty years friendship," and the title of "attached friend, of high birth and elevated rank," which the Pacha has conferred upon him, will be inclined to fear that, like the great bubbles of former years, this scheme also is meant only to delude confiding share-holders and enrich the enterprising founders. But the pamphlet contains a long, well-drawn and able statement from M. M. Linant and Mougel of the mode in which such a scheme should be carried out. These gentlemen have held high rank as Engineers in Egypt for thirty and twenty years respectively, and are more completely acquainted with all the possibilities of the case than any one else can be. Their names are guarantees for the *bonâ fide* character of the place they describe. They have furnished to the Pacha a complete estimate of the route which the canal should take, the difficulties to be encountered, the works required both easy and formidable, and the entire cost for which the canal can be executed. The items of expense are checked in every case by reference to similar works which have already been executed in various parts of Egypt under their own direction.

The scheme is at present provisionally prepared and published, both as respects the canal works to be executed, and

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the Company that is to form them. The permission of the Sultan has been asked, but has not yet been formally granted: and the whole of the plans proposed are being submitted to a special Engineering Commission, composed of experienced Engineers from all the great States of Europe. The Commission is at this hour engaged in its examination in the Isthmus of Suez itself.

The subject has been again revived and presented to the scientific and commercial world at a happy time. The extension of Steam Navigation and of Marine Telegraphs has drawn the attention of the world to those barriers of all kinds which obstruct in any way the increase of trade, the intercourse of distant nations, and the abbreviation of voyages by sea. It has become clear to all thinking minds that the two great Isthmuses of Panama and Suez are obstructions, and that, if they did not exist, the world would be immensely benefitted. Scientific enterprise therefore has been invited to consider the best and most effective means of over-coming the difficulties they present. Traffic across them both has immensely increased during the last ten years, and the Rail has been called in to aid in its transit. But the inconvenience of the double loading and unloading is not thereby removed: on the contrary the increase in the quantity of goods requiring to be passed from one vessel to another; the delay in the valuable time of a steam voyage and of mails; the number of individuals affected as compared with the few passengers and owners of goods affected in former years, have all made the inconvenience felt more deeply, and over a wider sphere, and naturally increased the longing of all thinking minds to see the difficulty not merely diminished, but eradicated by some final measure. A grand artificial canal at once suggests itself as that measure: but it is by no means easy of accomplishment. A few facts will serve to shew at what points the difficulties are most formidable.

The Isthmus of Suez in some respects presents most favourable aspects for the canal desired. For nearly its whole length it exhibits a level surface, but little raised above the level of the seas which border it. The Indian traveller on his journey home observes, near Suez, a line of hills to the East coming up from the Peninsula of Sinai, and stretching on towards the Mediterranean. These hills extend about thirty miles farther North, and sinking to a lower and lower level, become gradually lost in the desert sands. On the West, the huge promontory of the Ras el Atâkah overhangs the Bay of Suez; and

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from it commences the chain of Mukattem which continues Westward to Cairo, the citadel of which is built upon one of its last spurs. About the centre of the Isthmus, the Arabian chain sends off a single branch to the West, which runs parallel to the Mukattem chain for thirty miles. At the point where this spur leaves the Arabian chain it is eight miles broad. The spurs thrown off from the Mukattem range, and those belonging to this branch of the Arabian chain enclose between them a long and narrow valley, now called Wady Tomilát, but identical with the ancient Land of Goshen. This valley is directed towards the valley of the Nile, and joins it at Bubastis, at the end of the Arabian Hills. The route of Indian travellers between Cairo and Suez lies over the undulating bottoms of the Mukattem range and runs parallel to the long valley of Wady Tomilát, leaving it many miles to the Northward. Returning to Suez and going North, the traveller after passing for several miles over almost level sands, with the mounds of the ancient canal evident along his whole course, finds at the point where the Western spur of the Arabian Hills is sent off, and in the elbow which it forms, an immense hollow, anciently known as the Bitter Lakes, from the large amount of soda contained in its waters. At their Northern end lie the ruins of the ancient city of Serapeum. Crossing the low hills of which the spur is composed, he finds a second hollow, called Lake Timsah with a surface area of many square miles. Beyond this point the ground again becomes low and flat, and to the shore of the Mediterranean is covered with sand hills more or less composed of shifting sand. On its Western side this sandy tract touches the extreme edge of the Delta, and the Lake Menzaleh into which a large portion of the Nile waters are discharged. It appears therefore that so far as the excavation of a canal is concerned, the Isthmus itself in a direct line from Suez to the Mediterranean shore presents no great difficulties. From the Red Sea to the Arabian Hills and the Bitter Lakes, the ground rises little above the sea level. Between the latter and Lake Timsah the spur of hills crosses the line, but the greatest height of the bar is only *fifty-four feet, four inches* above the sea. A second bar occurs North of Lake Timsah, the elevation of which is *forty-nine feet.* Beyond this point to the sea the canal would traverse a low sandy plain. The relative heights of these different localities are clearly exhibited in the following table, which describes the level made by M. Bourdaloue in 1847, and by M. Linant in 1853.

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Stations with the Levels taken in 1853, *compared with the Levels taken at the same Stations in* 1847.

STATIONS.	Taken from low water in the Mediterranean at Tineh.	
	1853.	1847.
Low water in the Mediterranean at Tineh	* 0 *m.* 0000	0 *m.* 0000
Stations of the German Engineers at Tineh	1 *m.* 5586	1 *m.* 7400
Station at the Staff 29 L. 1853, point 26 of Bourdaloue's triangulation of the most elevated Lagoons of Lake Menzaleh at Ras el Ballah	1 *m.* 9800	1 *m.* 9800
Station 4 L. 1853, Bourdaloue's point A, which was found and verified	7 *m.* 8210	7 *m.* 4300
Bourdaloue's Station Staff at the mouth of the Canal (this staff is not certain)	3 *m.* 8280	3 *m.* 0800
Station 3 L. 1853, at the Serapeum, or Bourdaloue's, No. 83	16 *m.* 5950 2 *m.* 4100	16 *m.* 2300 ———
Upon the most elevated deposits in the basin of the Isthmus	2 *m.* 0300 1 *m.* 8600	——— 1 *m.* 8000
Station 2 L. 1853, and Bourdaloue's Station B. 30, on a block of petrified wood, covered with sandy secretions, placed upon the deposits in the basin of the Isthmus	2 *m.* 4380	2 *m.* 1100
Station 1 L. 1853, at the Persepolitan monument, upon a block of sandstone, south of the Bourdaloue excavations	11 *m.* 6300	11 *m*, 3700
Station on the Caravan Road, at the Staff Station, 3 L. 1853	2 *m.* 3900	———
Station at the Staff at the starting point, No. 1, L. 1853	1 *m.* 5186	———
Station on the quay of the Suez hotel, the same as that of M. Bourdaloue	2 *m.* 4286	2 *m.* 6100

These facts respecting the physical structure of the Isthmus are admirably stated with the utmost clearness and scientific precision in the following extract, translated from the Report of M. Talabot. The passage also exhibits the material of which the Isthmus is composed, and leads to conclusions which summarily settle the question discussed amongst Scholars as to the extent of the Red Sea in ancient times. So far as we are aware, the geological facts are new to science, and have never been referred to in English works.

"The boundless plain in which Pelusium was situated, and

* The French *metre* is exactly 39·371 inches, or roughly 3¼ English feet.

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'in the neighbourhood of which, many villages might be seen, 'whose ruins are still visible, exhibits in the present day, a 'surface denuded of all vegetation, and covered with salt. The 'low lands, which border on the south and east, the Lake 'Menzaleh, offer the same aspect; on the east of the Lake, 'the soil is covered by a line of fixed sand-hills wherein grow 'tamarisks and other plants, which are eaten by the camels of 'the nomad tribes. After this first line, which has a varying 'breadth of from two to four miles, one may remark a second 'formation of sand-hills that are elevated and moveable, 'beyond which are met at length the beds of the Arabian 'Chain, whose lower slopes are covered by these hills of sand.

"The lower sand-hills often leave exposed an ancient alluvial 'deposit, composed of sand and gravel, (chiefly of silex; often 'veined;) which advances to the edge of the Lake, and which 'has been evidently deposited upon the lower slopes of the 'chain, and subsequently elevated with the chain itself. The 'branch which the chain projects towards the centre of the 'Delta, is entirely formed of this same alluvium, which shows 'itself equally around Lake Timsah; in the majority of the 'spots where the straight girdle of sand-hills which surrounds 'this Lake, leaves exposed the nature soil; and is met as 'frequently upon the last slopes of Mukattem, on the borders 'of the valley of the Wady and of the Nile.

"At many points, around Lake Timsah and in the basin of 'the Lake itself, there is seen piercing through the alluvial 'deposit, a REMARKABLE FORMATION, the existence of which in 'the greater part of the Isthmus demands the deepest atten- 'tion. This formation presents horizontal beds, in general thin 'and numerous, of marl, of sand, of clay, and of gypsum, more 'or less compact, more or less sandy. This formation, which 'constitutes the soil of the Isthmus, in every part, south of 'Lake Timsah to Suez, and which fills also the bottom of the 'valley which separates the two chains,—not having been 'mentioned in the 'description of Egypt.' I have been ex- 'tremely surprised at the sight of the specimens collected 'by the Brigade, which leave no doubt respecting the com- 'plete resemblance of this formation to the gypsum beds of 'Montmartre. Amongst these specimens, may be noticed 'a collection made by M. Bourdaloue, in an excavation made 'at the bottom of the basin of the Bitter Lakes, which pre- 'sents, in an admirable state of preservation, a large number 'of crystals of gypsum, some transparent, others impure. 'These facts leave no doubt on this point, that the southern 'part of the valley, included between the two portions of the

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'Arabian Chain, has been filled by a deposit, belonging to 'an era prior to that of the lower or eocene tartiaries, a 'deposit entirely analogous to the gypsum beds of Mont-'martre, and in which are met beds corresponding to the 'marine marls of the Montmartre, which [beds] contain in 'great abundance marine fossils in a remarkable state of 'preservation.

"There is frequently found in the sand of the gypsum for-'mation, as well as in the alluvium, which lies above it, fossil 'wood of various kinds, amongst others of Palms and Acacias, 'chiefly the *Seyal* Desert Acacia.

"The gypsum formation certainly extends over the slopes 'of the two chains to the North and West of Lake Timsah. 'It may be even perceived there on some occasions; but it is 'generally concealed by the diluvial formation which shows 'itself every where along the borders of Lake Menzaleh, and 'in the valley of the Wady: and which constitutes that branch 'of the Arabian Chain, which separates that valley from Lake 'Menzaleh.

"The plain which surrounds Lake Timsah, continues as far 'as Suez, but about three miles and a quarter south of the 'Lake and near the ruins of Serapeum, the level of the plain 'suddenly lowers, in order to form a vast interior basin, about 'twenty-five miles long and in breadth varying from a mile and 'a quarter to six miles. Some parts of this basin present traces 'of vegetation; all the rest is arid. There may be noticed along 'its banks at different heights, very marked remains of shells, 'which prove incontrovertibly, that at an epoch more or less 'distant, this basin was filled with waters peopled with living 'shell-fish. In the deepest part there shows itself a bed, 'thick and broken, formed of various crystalised salts; and 'chiefly of sulphate of lime; under this vault is found, at a 'depth of from six to ten feet, a limpid and very bitter water, 'much charged, of course, with various salts, and probably of 'the sulphate, hydrochlorate and carbonate of Soda.

"Between the basin of these Lakes and the Red Sea, the 'soil rises but little above the level of the highest tides in 'the living water of the Red Sea. It is in this part that there 'are found the well preserved traces of a great canal, which, 'from the basin of the Lakes, is directed towards the Red Sea. 'It is the last portion of the ancient canal of Suez, that which 'placed the basin of the Bitter Lakes in communication with 'Suez and the Red Sea. Amongst the *débris* which form the 'banks of this canal, are found in large quantities the calca-'reous marls of the gypseous earth, the beds of which show

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'themselves for the last time in position, in the elevations 'which border the plain.

"In all the basin of the Bitter Lakes, on the borders of 'the basin, in all the country which separates it from the Red 'Sea, the least excavation beneath the sand, discloses imme- 'diately the gypseous deposit. On the borders of the basin 'indeed, this deposit may in various spots be met with, in its 'proper position. The first elevations which shew themselves 'to the East and West and which continue as far as Suez, 'belong to this formation. At the southern end of the basin, 'the calcareous marls are most distinctly seen lying upon the 'very sands which cover this part of the desert. Whence it 'follows, in the most logical manner, that the desert sands of 'the Isthmus belong to the lower tartiary formation. From it 'indeed come the sands which cover to a great extent all the 'slopes of the chain of Mukattem and of the Arabian Chain. 'At a great number of points, in fact, there is seen under the 'sand a bed of clay which evidently belongs to this formation. 'This bed is met with almost always, in the wells which are 'dug in these slopes, and chiefly below Cairo and beyond the 'deposits of the Delta. Lastly, from the descriptions which 'have been given of the Lybian desert, and of the valley of 'the natron Lakes, I should be much inclined to think that 'the sands of the Lybian desert are in similar circumstances."

This extract contains facts of high importance to the scientific world. But there is another application of its discoveries which we cannot forbear briefly to mention. Among modern writers who have discussed the crossing of the Red Sea, several have advocated a theory that the Gulf of Héroopolis extended farther North in ancient times than does the Bay of Suez now; and that the miracle took place at some spot which is now entirely covered with sand. D'Anville was one of the first to advocate this theory, and to assert that the Bitter Lakes once formed a part of the Red Sea. The survey of 1847, by discovering the facts stated in the above passage, has entirely destroyed the basis on which it rested. If the soil on which Suez stands, and which extends beyond the Bitter Lakes, is not a mere deposit of sand, laid up during the historic ages, but consists of tartiary strata, of the same age as the gypsum beds of Montmartre, it is clear that since Egypt became inhabited, the Gulf of Suez must have been in ancient times what it is now. It could not have been elevated from the Sea; for such a remarkable event would have been mentioned to a certainty in historic works entirely silent respecting it. The Gulf must have assumed its present form long before the historic period, and

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cannot have been modified in any of its essential elements during the present geological era. The objectors are again thrown back upon the Sea as it appears at present, and must accept it with all its difficulties, as the locality which the Israelites actually crossed under the leadership of Moses, through the intervention of Divine power.

To secure uninterrupted water communication between the two Seas, two projects have been advocated; one a canal along the Delta from Suez to Alexandria; the other a canal directly across the Isthmus from Suez to the Bay of Tineh. Remembering the details already given of the localities in question, the reader will readily understand the two schemes, and appreciate the advantages and difficulties, connected with each of them.

Short as is the distance across the Isthmus, and comparatively simple as the engineering works on land would apparently be, a work of vast difficulty is met with on the Mediterranean shore. The sea coast in the Bay of Finch and for many miles, both to the East and West, consists of an immense flat of mud. The water upon it is so shallow, and deepens so gradually, that the engineer must go out *four miles* to sea before he finds the depth of twenty-four or twenty-six feet required for the vessels by which the canal will be employed. Two artificial embankments must be constructed for the canal of this immense length, and the earth be cut out between them; in addition to light houses, signal stations and a fort for the protection of vessels. So formidable does M. Talabot consider this undertaking, that in spite of all other advantages, he reckons it impossible to secure a proper entrance for the canal at all in this part of the Mediterranean. The expense of these works alone he estimates at *four millions sterling*, and asserts that even when constructed, they may prove quite insufficient for the end desired. Exception has been taken to his views by M. Linant; but whether right or wrong this is the opinion which he formed on a full examination of the whole elements of the case. M. Talabot therefore projected the formation of a canal ALONG THE DELTA TO ALEXANDRIA. He proposed to carry it from Suez to the Bitter Lakes, and thence along Wady Fumilát to the head of the Delta; it would cross the Nile at the Barrage, erected by the Pacha for retaining the waters of the annual flood in store for irrigation, and thence proceed to the harbour of Alexandria. As the Barrage is sixty feet higher than the sea shore, the canal would be constructed with locks; and its highest level would be a large basin near the Barrage fed from the reservoir there. The canal would thus be formed of two descending branches from the Barrage; one towards Alexan-

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dria, the other towards Suez: the Western branch would require six locks giving six falls to the harbour of Alexandria; the Eastern would require five, gradually lowering the bed of the canal to the sea shore in the Bay of Suez. The canal would be filled in the first instance from the Nile at the period of the inundation; and would be maintained from the same source; the amount of water required and lost from each opening of the upper lock, being quite insignificant as compared with the immense store now reserved for the irrigation of the Delta plains. The length of such a canal would be about two hundred and ten miles; and the cost is estimated at six millions sterling. Supposing the harbour of Alexandria greatly improved by dredging, this canal would have the advantage of securing a good entrance into the Mediterranean. It would also carry the maritime traffic past the neighbourhood of Cairo, and prove as excellent channel for the development of the purely Egyptian trade. But its disadvantages must be acknowledged to be very great. Its great length as an artificial structure; its interference with the system of irrigation already adopted at great expense for Lower Egypt; the difficulty of safely crossing so wide a river as the Nile, are very much opposed to its interests. But the existence of eleven huge locks between Suez and Alexandria, each requiring to be filled or emptied each time a vessel passes, would alone produce a serious delay, and a continued annoyance, which must prove a powerful barrier to the usefulness of the undertaking; and be increasingly felt, as the traffic through Egypt increased. Were the canal constructed without locks, it must be cut at a much greater expense across the very heart of the Delta, amongst the net-work of irrigating channels by which its surface is kept fruitful, and must cross by immense works the two separate streams into which the Nile is now divided. It is doubtless on these grounds that Said Pacha, in giving his approval to the efforts of M. Lesseps has expressly declared that in any scheme for securing a practical junction of the two Seas, no canal will be sanctioned, which must pass within the Delta, or cross at any point the Eastern or Damietta branch of the Nile. Undesirable therefore in itself for some reasons, the scheme has apparently received its quietus from this declaration on the Pacha's part, and will probably not again be advanced.

Another scheme, complete in all its parts, has been proposed by M. M. Linant and Mougal, the Pacha's engineers, in connection with the new efforts of M. Lesseps; and is described at length in the pamphlet which the latter has published. It

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is based upon a perfect knowledge of all the localities, and though only provisional, comes forward with the high recommendation of M. Linant's extensive experience. This canal is to cross the Isthmus directly from Suez to the nearest point on the Mediterranean; will be about sixty-five miles long, and cost when entirely completed, about eight millions sterling. It is divided into three portions; from Suez to the Bitter Lakes; thence through the bar of Serapeum in the Arabian Hills to Lake Timsah; from thence through the bar of El Guisr, along the Eastern shore of Lake Menzaleh, to the Mediterranean. The excavations required on this course will be exceedingly easy, and cost under £3,000,000: in only two localities, the bars of Serapeum and of El Guisr, will the cuttings be of any depth; and if advantage be taken of the openings among the hills, they need not exceed fifty-four feet in all.

Of the size of the proposed canal, its authors speak thus:—

The dimensions of the canal have been determined by the idea of creating a grand passage for maritime navigation, open to steam and sailing vessels of considerable burthen. The Caledonian canal is the only known analogous work. This canal, however, is but 37 *metres* broad at the water line, and but 6 *metres* 10 deep. The locks, to the number of 23, have been enlarged so as to admit forty-four gun frigates; they are 52 *metres* 40 in length between the gates, 13 *metres* in breadth, and have a depth of water of 6 *metres* 10.

For cutting through the Isthmus of Panama by a maritime canal, as projected by Mr. Garella, it was proposed that the width of the canal, at the water line, should be 44 *metres* and the depth of water 7 *metres*.

We have assumed on considerations hereinafter to be explained, that paddle and screw frigates as well as vessels of 1,000 to 1,500 tons, ought to be able to traverse the canal in order to satisfy to the fullest extent the demands of navigation. We have therefore fixed the width of the canal at the water line at 100 *metres*; its *minimum* draught of water at 6 *metres* 50, below low water in the Mediterranean. The locks, two in number, are to be 100 *metres* long, 21 *metres* wide, with a *minimum* depth of water of 6 *metres* 50. These works will be established at the two extremities of the canal, immediately before the dykes forming the channal which on each side unites the canal with the two Seas. These two locks will form part of a sluiced barrage, and thus convert the whole canal into one immense dam, receiving the waters of the Red Sea during the highest tides, and storing them up successively in order to raise the level and create a rush of water in each channel when necessary. The highest tides of the Red Sea being from 2 *metres* to 2 *metres* 50 above low water in the Mediterranean, a depth of 9 *metres* of water will be obtained in the canal at certain times, but a mean super-elevation of 1 *metre* may be depended on, which will usually give a minimum depth of 7 *metres* 50 to 8 *metres*. Under these conditions, screw steamers will be enabled to pass easily along the canal without the presence of its bed re-acting in an inconvenient manner on the motion of their screws. We have, however

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calculated the earth-works for three different depths of water, viz., 6 *metres*, 6 *metres* 50; and 7 *metres* below low water in the Mediterranean. If the Company should require a depth of 8 *metres* it would be easy to obtain it by means of dredges, without stopping the navigation on the canal.

The vast hollows of the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah are to be filled with water, and thus constitute two immense basins, useful both in storing water for the canal and providing safe anchorage for ships. Lake Timsah, it is proposed to form into a complete inland port, with magazines, stables, work-shops for repairs, and quay walls for mooring vessels, and unloading merchandize. The Bitter Lakes will furnish an immense reservoir of water for flushing the canal. The transverse sections of the survey of 1847, showed that at the water line, their surface would be about 330,000,000 of square metres. The tide at Suez brings in two metres of moving water; and if admitted into the Lakes, would accumulate in them no less than 660,000,000 of cubic metres of water, which may be increased to 800 millions by adding Lake Timsah. Should any obstruction occur at either mouth of the canal, this vast store of water will be found of immense use in sweeping it away.

The extensive sand-hills of the Pelusium plain, can be fixed by sowing them with seeds of the maritime pine. This process was discovered in France by M. Bremontier, who succeeded in thus fixing the celebrated *Landes* of Bourdeaux, and covering them with magnificent forests. These pine plots, if successful in the Isthmus of Suez, will not only greatly improve the appearance of the locality, now a barren desert, but prove a source of regular and considerable profit to their proprietors.

The prime difficulty of this route, the Mediterranean shore, M. Linant thinks can be successfully overcome. In a long and able discussion of the causes which produce bars at the mouths of rivers and block up the entrances of harbours, he shews that these evils arise not from the silt poured out by the rivers, but from the sands thrown up by the ground swell from the sea. He shews also that the coast of Pelusium is not becoming worse; on the contrary no accumulations are taking place, and the shore is where it was many centuries ago. The same is also true of the Bay of Suez. If therefore the accumulations, already there, are removed so far as the canal requires them, there is strong reason to believe that the work will not require to be done again. They accordingly propose to construct two long jetties or embankments into the sea, both at Suez and Pelusium, the broad canal lying between them;

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and protected from shifting sands by a mole, having its back to the usually prevailing current along the shore :—-

As for the two entrances, whether from the Red Sea or the Mediterranean, all that is necessary is, that ships shall be able to approach at all seasons and find certain and effectual shelter in bad weather. Now the roadstead of SUEZ is sheltered from every wind except the south-east. It will therefore be sufficient to prolong the eastern jetty to a certain distance beyond the western to render the shelter complete. All the vessels which now take their stations in the roadstead ride out the bad weather very well, and the magazine corvette belonging to the English Company which has been anchored there for the last two years and a half has suffered no damage. Thus, at the Suez extremity, it will be sufficient to establish two jetties, forming the entrance channel from the Red Sea, and to prolong them sufficiently far into the roadstead to reach the required depth of water, in order that vessels entering may have a draught of 7 *metres*, 50 to 8 *metres*, at low water. The eastern jetty must be 150 *metres*, longer, than the western for the reasons, we have just given.

At PELUSIUM, the two jetties, in order to reach the depth of 7 *metres* 50 to 8 *metres* must be at least 6,000 *metres* in length ; but if it should be feared that the channel thus formed would not be sufficiently safe for the approach of vessels, and in order to meet objections, the real value of which have yet to be tested, we have projected a sheltered roadstead in front of these jetties by means of a grand mole from 450 to 500 *metres* in length, placed in such a manner as to afford shelter to vessels in bad weather, and to enable them to enter the channel at their convenience.

But are jetties extending 6,000 *metres* into the sea possible? and if possible, would they not require so much time and such an expenditure of money as, practically, to cause the undertaking to be given up? With regard to the possibility, there can be no doubt, for more than a century ago, the Dutch Government constructed a jetty 8,000 *metres* in length in the Bay of the Lion, near the Cape, in water more than sixteen *metres* deep, in spite of the continued tempestuous weather which succeeds the settled calms in those latitudes. Such a work, considering the depth of water, must have required a quantity of materials at least four times as great as that required for the two jetties and the mole at Pelusium. It was undertaken by a nation not over-rich, at a time when steam was unknown, and before the invention of machinery, which saves so much time, expense and labour. There can be no doubt then, that if the cutting of the Isthmus is admitted to be advantageous, it will be easy to overcome all difficulties.

The amount of work in these jetties and moles at the two ends of the canal is very large, and constitutes a most important item in the undertaking. Their entire cost together with that of the two barrage locks is set down at sixty-seven millions of francs, or £2,680,000. The following detail is worth quoting :—

BARRAGE LOCKS.—Adopting this figure, which is too high by a good third for the Maritime canal, the two barrage locks and the oblique barrage, being altogether 300 metres in length, would cost.....	*fr.* 5,370,000
JETTIES AT PELUSIUM AND SUEZ.—For the jetties, both at Pelusium and Suez, we have said that we	

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should adopt the mode of construction by loose stones, as has been done in the greatest known works, and in the majority of the ports in the Mediterranean, such as Cannes, Bandol, Barcelona, Valencia, Cadiz, Genoa, &c. &c., always reducing the width of the causeway according to the necessity of the case. Thus, the jetty which is to windward in the prevailing winds, has a width of 8 *metres* at the summit for its causeway, which is at 1 *metre* 50, above low water.

There is, moreover, a parapet 4 *metres* thick and 3 *metres* 50, high. On the other hand, the jetty to the leeward has a causeway only 6 *metres* wide, and the parapet 3 *metres* thick and 2 *metres* 50, high.

In order to enable the ships to approach the windward jetty, and to be towed its whole length, masonry in hydraulic mortar has been disposed on the interior slope of the jetty from a depth of 3 *metres* below low water, as shown on the section drawn on the map. This is only in imitation of what is seen in the harbour of Bastia, as well as in those of Cannes and Bandol, and the other details have been taken from those adopted in the construction of the last-mentioned.

Assuming that the jetty east of Suez will be 4,000 *metres* long, there will be 970,000 *metres cub.* of rough stones, which at 5 *fr.* the *metre* on board the vessels, amounts to..... *fr.* 4,750,000

Taking the transport and sinking at 2 *fr.*, which is a great deal, we have..... 1,940,000

Total..... *fr.* 6,690,000

Say in round numbers 7,000,000

For the western jetty, the same amount..... 7,000,000

For the jetty, west of Pelusium, if we assume that the transport will be for a distance of 150 *kil.* at 0 *fr.* 03 *per ton, per kil.* which will be about 0 *fr.* 06 *per cubic metre*, we shall have 9 *fr.* for the cost of transport, to which add 1 *fr* for sinking; with the cost of extraction it will be 15 *fr.* per *cubic metres.* The quantity being 1,000,000 *metres cubic* we get an amount of 15,000,000

And as much for the western jetty 15,000,000

Mole of Pelusium.—The defensive mole being 500 *metres* in length, its contents will be 250,000 *metres cubic*, and the cost of its construction 3,750,000

Retaining Basin.—The semi-circular dyke forming the the retaining basin will have a development of 6,200 *metres* and the contents will be 896,000 *metres cubic*, its cost will therefore be 13,500,000

To complete the beneficial uses and purposes of this great canal, it has been proposed to construct a smaller canal, navigable for Nile boats, from a point on the Nile near Cairo, and

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to lead it down Wady Tomilat, to join the sea canal at Lake Timsah. By this course the local trade of Egypt will be connected with the ship canal, and immense supplies of fresh water be secured for all the establishments throughout the Isthmus.

It is calculated that the time required for the completion of the works thus planned will be full six years: but portions can be completed and put into operation within half that period. Whether the scheme will be finally accepted, and set in operation, remains to be seen. At present it is put forward only provisionally, but means have been adopted for submitting it to competent and careful examination. We have already noticed that at this very time a Commission of Engineers from the chief nations of Europe is engaged in the Isthmus itself in examining the details of the scheme, especially the proposed outlet into the Mediterranean. On their verdict will depend the decision whether this scheme in its present form shall be adopted, and the proposed company be formed to carry it into effect. That verdict therefore may be expected with considerable interest.

A junction of the two Seas is important in itself, apart from either of the plans above described, or any better plan that may be suggested in the future. Though advocating the direct route across the Isthmus, according to the surveys and estimates of M. M. Linant and Mougel, M. Lesseps distinctly allows that the exact route must be settled by engineers; and hence the formation of the commission which is now examining his scheme. Indeed the general question occupies a prior position, since if not desirable in itself, the adoption of any scheme for securing it will be impossible. The French officers in Egypt seem to think that the English Government and nation will object to a canal from a selfish unwillingness to provide facilities for the commerce of other nations; and a large portion of M. Lesseps's pamphlet is directed to answering objections of this stamp. But no argument of the kind is likely to proceed from a people who have adopted free trade as their leading principle in commerce, and who are striving to secure facilities of every kind for increasing that commerce in every part of the world. They are not likely, with their experience of monopolies, to suppose that any nation will be richer because its neighbours remain poor, or that an increase in the wealth of those nations, derived from honest trade, is a virtual diminution of their own. If experience has taught any thing, it has shewn that any addition to facilities in production is a help to the universal world: and that any reduction in the cost, whether of the material

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of an article, of its construction, or its transit among our people, is a benefit to every other, and increases its consumption abroad as well as at home. The argument is again peculiarly inconsistent in the face of the efforts, already made by the English from year to year, to improve the communication across the land of Egypt. It was they who first established that route; they, who have made most use of it; they, who planted the transit stations in the desert; and they, who have been urging forward the new Railroad. It is too late then to suppose that those, who have spent time and labour and immense sums of money in maintaining the communication already existing, will step in with antiquated objections, when that communication is rendered most complete, most easy, and most efficient. Continental nations already use the present route, which the English have done so much to form; it is too late to object to a better route, for fear that they will use that also.

The more the mind reflects upon the true import of this grand undertaking, the more vast and comprehensive do its advantages appear. Every single benefit derived from the safe and easy navigation of the mighty oceans of the world will be developed within the limited sphere of this connecting Strait, while it will superadd other advantages peculiarly its own. Great stress has been laid upon the difficulties, real or imaginary, to be experienced by sailing ships both in entering the canal from the Mediterranean, and in sailing down the Red Sea. Even granting that great difficulties will be met with by such vessels, (though experienced men deny that at some seasons they are af all formidable), it seems to us that to base the usefufness of the canal at all upon sailing ships is quite beside the question. This is not the age when men determine the value of new schemes by their suitability to the proceedings of antiquity. The most striking fact made patent by the progress of the world, during the last twenty years, is that in navigation steam is rapidly taking the place of the uncertain winds. Between England and America, between England and Australia, the increase in the number of trading steamers, which have no mail contract to help their expenses, has been astonishingly large. Even with the high prices that have ruled in the coal market, the speed, regularity, greater safety and better control of steam navigation, have led to its increased employment in the transit of expensive goods, and when the present war terminates, the large number of steamers set free from Government employ will develope steam commerce to a still higher degree. For such vessels, the Suez canal

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will be most admirably suited: and most fully will the canal develope all their peculiar excellencies. Itself the child of steam navigation, most faithfully will it foster the prosperity of its parent. While sailing ships therefore are no worse off than before, the steamers of the entire eastern world will derive from the canal immense advantages.

The double trans-shipment of overland goods; their transport on the backs of camels, with the consequent liability to loss, damage and delay; the desert journey for passengers, with its wild horses and bumping stones; the weary, uncomfortable trip down the Nile in the crowded bed-less boats; the extortions of dragomans and donkey boys; the discomfort of bad water and uncooked food; with other nameless ills will all be avoided: and as with the Cape voyage, the cabin which a passenger receives in Calcutta will be his home till he reaches Southampton.

The expense of double establishments in the East will no longer be required. At present the steamers that visit Suez and Alexandria must attend one another: one set remaining on the English, and another on the Indian side of the Isthmus. For the latter a complete naval yard is necessary in Calcutta or Bombay, efficient in all its departments, employing a large number of persons on Indian allowances; and located on valuable property. With the complete opening of the Isthmus, all this will cease. A single vessel will be able to make a complete voyage out and home, unconnected with any such system. It may come and go at any time, as do the great sailing ships round the Cape, and like them it will require no special naval yard. If extensive repairs are required they can be completed in England on its return. To Indian residents one most important consequence of these proceedings will be the virtual destruction of the monopoly of the P. and O. Company. At present they rule the steam world in India, and none can compete with them on this side of the Isthmus, without corresponding vessels in the Mediterranean. But when single steamers can come and go at pleasure, and become numerous in the cold weather, all steamers will be less crowded, and passage money must become more reasonable. Our mails will increase in number: and when the English Government have adopted more national principles for the payment of the packets carried by sea; and the steam trade of the East receives from the canal its full development, what is there to hinder the arrival and departure of a daily mail in the more favourable seasons of the year. Coal will become cheaper in the Red Sea ports, from the ease with which coal ships will be brought through from the Mediterranean: and freights will no longer bear monopoly prices.

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Increased intercourse with the East will be one of the first effects produced by this undertaking. China, the Dutch Islands, Australia and Hindustan, with all their gigantic trade, their mighty interests, and their powerful influence on European States, will be brought into far closer and intimate connection with those States than now. And though in respect to interference on the part of the Home Government with that in India, this increased proximity is to be dreaded, yet as such intercourse is inevitable, it remains for the two Governments not to prevent it, but wisely to determine the principles on which it shall be held. References may be more rapidly made and answered; but the practical application of every measure must be left to the Government which is on the spot; which alone can determine its fitness to existing circumstances, and can alone be held responsible.

These and similar benefits may be fairly expected from the junction of the two Seas by a great canal. But supposing the undertaking practicable, much depends on the question whether it will pay. It is argued by the projectors that as shipowners and merchants will save by the canal, from the shortness of voyages and the diminished expenses of each, from less expensive insurances, and more frequent returns, they will be able to pay a considerable fee for passage through the canal. They accordingly propose a passage-due of ten francs per ton: so that a steamer of 1,800 tons would have to pay for going through the canal a sum of Rs. 7,200. The saving in the price of coal in the Red Sea would more than pay it.

Looking at the immense trade between Europe and the East, including Australia, they estimate that out of 6,000,000 tons annually carried between them, no less than 3,000,000 will at once or hereafter be carried through the canal. They reckon that all the most valuable goods in small bulk will be brought in this direction: that the silk, indigo, tea, and even sugar and cotton of India and China; the spices of Java; the gold and wool of Australia; and a greatly increased trade from Yemen, Somali and Abyssinia, will be included in these freights. They adopt estimates undoubtedly very high; much higher than those of some of the most authoritative statistics in England; but this is their estimate of what the canal will ultimately receive. The total income from passage-dues, from anchorage-dues in Port Timsah, from the fresh water canal drawn from the Nile, from lands irrigated from its stream, and from the pine plantations, they reckon in all at 39,000,000 francs or £1,560,000. Of this the shareholders would receive £1,165,600, and these derive from the undertaking an annual profit of *fourteen and-a-half per cent.* Allowing that these profits are over-

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stated, it will be still universally believed that a great highway like the canal, if completely finished, and properly appreciated, is certain to yield a handsome dividend in the end.

Of the political difficulty, respecting the ultimate proprietorship and control of the canal, we have spoken little. To us it seems practically solved by what has already been done. What objection can there be to the continuance of the arrangement now existing. The Pacha and Sultan can take care of the canal in time of peace. In war nothing can maintain the Indian route throughout the Red Sea and Mediterranean, but an engagement, perfectly inviolable, between France and England, that at least Mail steamers, if not traders also, shall pass unharmed. If no such convention be made, the canal will be no worse off than any other part of those closed Seas.

The same great end of uniting the seas by a navigable canal has been connected with an entirely different route through the Holy Land. This plan was first suggested about two years ago, by Capt. William Allen, an officer of the Royal Navy, and he has just published the work described at the head of this article, in order more completely to explain it. Of the varied information, especially on geological and antiquarian questions, contained in these volumes, it is impossible now to speak. They are the production of an able and observant scholar, who has endeavoured to illustrate his own observations by those of other competent and well-known travellers. It would lead us too far away from our present topic, to do other than describe the plan, which he has brought forward for overcoming the difficulty, which the Isthmus of Suez has produced. We shall endeavour to do so in few words.

Along the back of the Jewish country, and at one time situated between the two divisions of the tribes, runs a long deep valley, the valley of the Jordan. It forms part of a gigantic *crevasse* in the earth's surface, and is, in reality, connected with a peculiar geological formation that extends over an immense extent of country. This *crevasse* begins on the Red Sea, turns up its eastern arm the Gulf of Akaba, runs North through the land of the Jews, and terminates on the southern side of Mount Lebanon. It is about 230 miles in length from Akaba to Mount Hermon; and is enclosed between two uninterrupted chains of mountains, which run parallel to each other, at an average distance of nine or ten miles. Unlike the valley of the Tay, the Ganges, or the Nile, this valley does not constitute a level plain, formed by the alluvial deposits of some mighty river. It rather looks like a long valley with its back broken, and presents a singular spectacle from its two ends, sloping in different directions to a common

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point in the centre. This great valley is thus divided into three sections. The northern end contains the river Jordan throughout its entire course, and is the valley of the Jordan properly so called. It contains abundance of water, and if its life-giving supplies were well distributed, the entire valley through its whole length and breadth could be converted into a fruitful garden. The river takes its rise in the perpetual springs under Mount Hermon: and having received the tribute of several minor streams, runs into the Lake of Gennesaret. Leaving the lake, it proceeds on its course towards the Dead Sea. But between these two points, the slope of the valley is remarkably rapid. Already at the lake it is 329 feet below the Mediterranean; on the shore of the Dead Sea, that depth is increased to 1,312 feet. Hence it has a slope of nearly 1,000 feet in fifty-six miles of latitude, or about eighteen feet to the mile. The consequence is that the river in its short course contains numerous turnings that increase its actual length to 130 miles; and is filled with roaring rapids at several points. The entire course of the stream from its rise to its junction with the Dead Sea is below the level of the Mediterranean.

The southern end of this *crevasse* is a valley in some respect similar to that of the Jordan, but entirely destitute of any running streams. It is an awful sandy waste, a hundred miles in length and ten in width: shut in by a high range of mountains on each side. It extends from the south end of the Dead Sea to the Red Sea at Akaba: it slopes upwards for fifty-five miles, and then slopes down again to the level of the latter Sea. Shut in between huge walls of rock, and destitute of water, it furnishes no desirable place of residence, and appears never to have contained any villages or towns except on the very shores of the Red Sea. Between these two extremities of the great *crevasse* lies the Dead Sea, at a level of 1,312 feet below the Mediterranean. It is forty miles long and ten wide; and in parts is 1,308 feet deep. It receives the drainage of 8,000 square miles of the Jewish territory and of the desert which borders it on the south.

As this *crevasse* is shut in between two parallel ranges of mountains, varying from one to two thousand feet in height, and as the floor of the valley through nearly its entire length lies below the level of the sea, it is clear that, if by any means the sea were introduced, and the whole were filled to a level with the Red Sea and Mediterranean, there would be formed a MAGNIFICENT INLAND LAKE, occupying the site of the former valley, and spreading on each side up the numerous ravines by which the chains of mountains are in many places pierced. The New Lake would be 160 miles long, and generally ten

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miles broad, but in parts fourteen. It would in size greatly resemble Lake Champlain in the northern part of New York. Thus filled it would occupy a perfectly isolated position: it would run parallel to the east end of the Mediterranean, and its southern extremity would be directed straight towards the Gulf of Akaba, the right arm of the Red Sea. If united to each by a broad ship canal, it would fully secure the uninterrupted maritime communication so earnestly desired at the present time.

Can such a junction be easily effected in each instance? On this question, apart from the sacrifice of the great valley, turns the desirableness of the whole scheme. The canal between the New Lake and the Mediterranean would not meet with any great difficulty. Close under the Promontory of Mount Carmel lies the level plain of Esdraelon, spread out for many miles, and extending generally from north-west to south-east. It is drained by the river Kishon, which directs its course inland: and at the centre of the country, between the Mediterranean and the Jordan valley, lies the old town of Jezreel. The valley of the Kishon comes close to this town, and East of it lies another valley, between Mount Gilboa and the little Hermon, which runs eastward to the Jordan. The bed of those two valleys would furnish a comparatively easy course for the proposed canal. The watershed, the highest point between them, appeared from an imperfect barometer of Capt. Allen's to be only a hundred feet above the sea: but Colonel Scott, the engineer, set it down at two hundred. As the canal from Haifa in the Bay of Carmel to Beisan would be thirty-five miles long, and the ground is level, it would appear that with a cutting of a hundred to two hundred feet deep for many miles, it would at least be expensive, if not difficult.

The second canal from the southern end of the New Lake to Akaba on the Red Sea would appear to be altogether a more difficult undertaking. It would pass up the great Araba valley with its desert sands for nearly sixty miles, before it would cross the watershed and meet the inland sea. On this watershed and its real character the entire subject seems to turn. Captain Allen has persuaded himself that the valley of the Araba greatly resembles that portion of the Isthmus of Suez, which lies between the Red Sea and the Bitter Lakes; and that the whole tract is scarcely raised above the level of the sea. So filled is his mind with this foregone conclusion, that he does not give fair play to the two travellers whose opinions he quotes as opposed to his own. These opinions, however, are quite confirmed by the testimony of others. Dr.

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Schubert in going up the Araba, travelled near the foot of the eastern mountains. He notices that the west side of the valley is lower than the eastern, and that, a long way up, the ground is so low as to form a swamp. At a distance of a day and-a-half from Akaba he found himself 465 Paris feet above the sea: the next evening he was 954 feet. The Comte de Bertou came down the Araba from the north, and although his barometer was broken, and he could judge of heights in general only by the eye, he states that the watershed can be most distinctly pointed out opposite Wady Talh. The two slopes cannot be mistaken: and that towards the Red Sea he could see was very rapid. After journeying seven miles south-east he came to Wady Gharendal. On returning up the Araba, he reached the watershed again on the eastern side of the Araba at El Sat, having Wady Talh and his former position far to the west, as the Araba is no less than eight or ten miles wide. His statement that the waters of Wady Gharendal flow not towards the north in Wady Jeib, but towards the south, is certainly opposed to that of Dr. Robinson, who was told the contrary by his Arabs. But Mr. Bartlett, like M. Bertou, saw the place with his own eyes, and distinctly confirms the truth of the latter's assertion. He also speaks of the swampy ground remarked by Dr. Schubert. But we find in one of our modern travellers, whom Capt. Allen has overlooked, abundant and clear confirmation of M. Bertou's statements in every particular. The late Rev. Dr. Olin is one of the few travellers who have visited the lower half of the Araba, and who, in journeying along it, carefully examined the locality in reference to its height above the sea. The following passages furnish information at once applicable to the subject of Capt. Allen's canal.

"My attention has been especially directed to the evidences 'that may exist, in support of the opinion, which makes this 'valley the ancient channel of the Jordan. For the first twenty 'or twenty-five miles north of Akaba, this Wady is almost a 'perfect level, much of it has probably been covered with the 'water of the sea, which has receded, or perhaps the bottom 'of the valley has been raised by sand. A heavy rain covers a 'large tract of it with water.

"At nine o'clock this morning, (March 28, 1840,) only nine 'hours distant from the sea, we passed over an extensive level 'tract, which had recently been a lake, the surface of the earth 'being yet soft, as well as bare of all vegetation and as smooth 'as a floor. The drier parts are white with an efflorescence of 'salt. *During the next hour we were passing among sand-hills*

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'*twenty feet high, covered with shrubs and extending quite across* '*the valley. For the four or five subsequent hours, there was a* '*visible and very considerable ascent as we advanced Northward.* '*Our encampment this evening, I feel confident, is several hundred* '*feet above the level of the Gulf of Akaba.* The bottom of the 'valley, where not covered with sand, is composed of gravel 'and small stones, similar in all respects but its greater extent, 'to the other Wadys in this region. The eastern side is for 'the most part higher, by thirty or forty feet, than the western: 'and the mountain torrents, which in the rainy season enter 'from a multitude of side Wadys, flow across the valley into a 'large channel near its western side.

" March, 29. During our first hour's ride this morning we 'entered a section of Wady Araba, which presents an unusual 'and very cheerful aspect. The valley suddenly expands into 'a breadth of seven or eight miles by the receding of the 'mountains that bonnd its western side. Its surface, com- 'posed of compact sand, is almost perfectly level, and as we 'approached, appeared to be carpeted with green grass..... '*This beautiful oasis is limited on the North by a range of sand-* '*hills, extending, so far as I could determine by the eye, quite* '*across the valley*, which again contracts to a width of five or 'six miles, and its bottom is once more paved with ste[illegible] 'gravel, and furrowed with mountain torrents. *Before nine* '*o'clock the ascent had become laborious, and, for such a plain,* '*quite steep. As we advanced northward, the valley before us had* '*the appearance of an interminable hill-side of a uniform slope,* '*which finally reached* AN ELEVATION EQUAL TO THAT OF THE 'RIDGES OF MOUNTAINS BY WHICH IT IS FLANKED. *By twelve* '*o'clock we had reached the greatest elevation. It gave us an* '*extensive view, especially of the region through which we had* '*passed in coming from Akaba.* IT ENABLED US TO OVERLOOK 'THE RANGES OF MOUNTAINS WHICH BOUND WADY AKABA ON 'THE WEST, *and to view the immense region which stretches to the* '*West and South-west far beyond them. It appears like a vast* '*plain, whose utmost limit is the visible horizon.*

" We left Wady Araba at this elevated point to go to Petra. 'I enquired of our guides, but could obtain no satisfactory 'answer, whether this high ground does not divide the torrents 'flowing northward in the rainy seasons from those which 'pursue the opposite direction. However this may be, it is 'obvious enough that the Jordan never found its way to the 'Red Sea through this valley, unless, indeed, we may suppose 'that some great convulsion has raised its bed many hundred 'feet above its origigal level. The point of view which I have 'described is certainly much higher than that sea."

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This extract is all but conclusive. It appears to shew that the Araba for five and twenty miles from the head of the Red Sea is exceedingly flat, and rises but little above the sea level; that a range of low sand-hills then extends across it, succeeded by a visible and very considerable ascent to an extensive platform, covered with gravel and small stone, and several hundred feet above the sea. This part would well answer to the locality of Dr. Schubert's first measurement. This platform, after extending for several miles, is bounded to the northward by a range of hills extending quite across the valley; the ascent up the side of these hills is laborious and comparatively steep: and the traveller standing on the summit can overlook the great western desert, whose bordering mountains along the Araba average more than a thousand feet in height. This range constitutes the watershed, and well deserves the description of M. Bertou, as being the unmistakeable barrier which divides the Araba waters. Indeed its great height seems to shew that the great valley is fairly divided into two distinct portions: and that the southern half is no less than a *cul de sac*, passable indeed, but really enclosed on three sides. In respect to the excavation of a canal therefore, the valley would prove by no means so suitable as Capt. Allen imagines. If for twenty-five miles such excavation would be trifling, for at least twenty-five or thirty more, the cutting must pass through soil varying in depth from three to nine hundred feet. Such an undertaking in the hot arid desert, where the murmuring of the Israelites brought on them the plague of serpents, and where, over hundreds of square miles, no water can be obtained except from a few scattered fountains, would surpass in difficulty and costliness almost any thing of the kind, which engineering enterprise has ever attempted to accomplish. We are arguing the case simply on the testimony of travellers; on data such as Capt. Allen has himself employed in developing his bold and ingenious scheme. A scientific survey of the valley is absolutely necessary before the question can be finally set at rest: and much do we regret that the English Government declined to aid the gallant and accomplished officer, in his desire to accomplish it.

Such are the two great plans, presented to the merchants and scholars of Europe and Asia, for bringing their distant settlements into more complete union with one another. Engineers can alone determine how far the one or the other plan, or even any at all, is practicable: but public opinion is required to keep the question alive. If the world need an uninterrupted channel of sea navigation, the world will not fail to secure it.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

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1. *History of British India, by Hugh Murray, Esq., F. R. S. E., continued to the close of the year* 1854. *Nelson, Edinburgh and London,* 1855, *and G. C. Hay and Co., Calcutta.*

2. *School Series—Edited by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M. A., Third Book of History, British India, London,* 1854.

THE increasing importance of India and Indian History, Literature and Products, renders a really good School History of it every day more and more a desideratum. The highest offices in the Indian Service are no longer confined, as of old, to a favoured few, but all whom education or acquirements have fitted for it, may now hope to take their part in ruling and civilising her many millions. By this one act of opening the Services, India and Indian affairs are made to come home to the hearts and families of all in Britain in a very very different form, but far more powerfully than that, in which it moved them during the bloody and protracted struggles of the Affghan and Sikh campaigns. Then there was the interest of war, then as now in reference to the Crimea, many an eye was directed to the field of battle, and the *Gazette* eagerly read for news of wounds and death, or victory and safety. But now the interest arises from a very different source, now civilisation causes it to be felt, and not many years will elapse ere there will be far more interest shewn in the now unknown but vast districts of India, over which Magistrates and Collectors rule, than ever Roman mother showed in her boy, who went in the *suite* of a Verres or a Crassus to Sicily or Syria.

Indian History has naturally been hitherto a subject of minute study in all Christian and Native Schools in India. It has been to Indian-youth what the History of England is to British—the History of their Fatherland, of that to which they owe their birth, in which they must live and act, with whose dust they will mingle theirs. But the same necessity for studying it has not hitherto existed in England. And hence the works on the subject, produced there for School use, have been as inaccurate and full of obscure generalities, as those in India have been too full of detail, and wearily prolix. We question much, if, at this moment, any one could point to a really good School History of India, of the same literary, historical, and, above all, educational value, as existing School Histories of England and Scotland, Greece and Rome. But we trust that now, the ten-fold importance of India, and the widening sphere of subjects embraced by education, will lead accurate and literary Indian Scholars to give to our youth, both in this land and at home, a History of a land so full of all that is startling in incident, roman-

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tic in adventure, and instructive in the dealings of Providence with men and nations, and the progress of civilisation and conquest.

Looking at histories already in existence, that by Murray seems to have recommended itself most to the acceptance of general readers, and of those engaged in the work of tuition. That such a work has done so, is only an additional evidence of the wretched shifts, to which men have been driven. It is an insult not only to teachers, but to boys themselves, to put into their hands the undigested and inaccurate work of a compiler. Those who think that such will do for the young mind, go fifty years back in the history of civilisation, and forget that such a mind contains at least in effect all the logical power and processes, which cannot merely understand and appreciate that only which is itself logical and methodical, but which cannot understand or profit from it at all, unless it is so. The mind of the unsophisticated innocent boy is far more logical and correct in its deductions and apprehensions than that of the best and most scientific logician, whose mind has been obscured by prejudice, passion or sloth. Hugh Murray was indeed an industrious, and, so far as his knowledge went, a careful writer, but he was a *compiler*. He wrote histories of countries regarding which he had no original documents to guide him, and had not that intense common sense which, in a History already written, can discover what is of real value—whether general principle or fact, and reject minutiæ and details, that serve only to obscure the subject, and clog the apprehension and memory of the student. This is seen to its greatest extent in his History of India, and all the more so from the dense ignorance that reigned in England regarding it, at the time when the History was written. Hence there are few tasks so difficult for either teacher or pupil as to teach or study Murray's History of India. Both lose themselves in detail, and to both, the inaccuracy and want of method in the work, give a feeling of insecurity and dubiousness, most deadly to success. Such at least has been the experience of many practical Teachers.

What we have said of the work in reference to education and those engaged in it, applies equally to the general reader. He, of course, looks more at style, interest and plot, than the student who wants merely information—pleasingly acquired if possible, and that of an accurate character. But this Murray has not. He has a calm measured style, rising but seldom into those heights of sublime description, moral interest, or heart-rending pathos for which the events of the history offer so many opportunities, nor on the other hand descending into a style absolutely bald and inharmonious. At the end of each chapter, the reader, new to the subject, feels that he cannot give an account of what he has read, and that, though he may remember some passages as interesting, the whole does not stand out in his mind as one simple clear unity. How much more so is this the case at the end of the book, where the perfect beauty, because unity, of the History of the British Conquest of India is thus marred, blotted and deformed. Feeling something of this,

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and desirous to rectify it as far as possible; anxious at the same time to continue the history to the present day, the publishers have brought out this new edition. The editor of the work is one whose pen is well kowne to all readers of Indian History, and especially to the readers of this *Review*. His part he has done admirably, but what could he do for a work, whose whole plan and structure were so radically defective? The result is that the closing chapters, which are entirely from his pen, and the beneficial changes that he has made in the chapters on the Affghan and Sikh Campaigns, for which a previous Editor was responsible, have much improved the work. Before noticing some defects that are still observable in the present edition, viewed as an educational text-book, we shall introduce our readers to the present editor's part of the work. His labours are chiefly seen in the two additional chapters that he has written on the "Punjaub after its Conquest" and the "Conclusion." In the former, he has one of the most grateful tasks which any historian can take in hand to discharge—the record of the triumphs of civilisation, after scenes of the bloodiest warfare. He becomes the historian, and necessarily he cannot fail to become the panegyrist, of Lord Dalhousie. The fullest record of his deeds is to be obtained in one of our previous numbers, (No. 43, Vol. xxii.) and to this he is somewhat indebted. It was at once a difficult and a hazardous task to write so boldly on contemporary history not one year old. We might address him, as Horace of old did his illustrious friend, Asinius Pollio.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
Bellique causas et vitia et modos,
Ludumque Fortunæ, gravesque
Principum amicitias, et arma.

Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculosae plenum opus aleae,
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

But he skilfully manages at once to do historical justice and avoid party bias. After giving an account of the cause of the dispute between Dalhousie and the late Sir Charles Napier, he thus sums up.

Sir Charles Napier, therefore, returned to England and wrote a book. But many years of hard service in the field and much contention with hostile climates had enfeebled the frame of the gallant veteran, and he did not live to see the reception with which his explanations were fated to meet from the British public; and, perhaps, it was well that the last days of one of England's finest soldiers and most gallant sons were not embittered by the reflection that the applause which had so long followed his career could not be continued to the end. No history of India, under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, would be complete without some reference to Sir Charles Napier's last visit to the East, and the circumstances of his retirement; but the subject is one on which the annalist will ever enter with reluctance and dwell with regret. Collisions between the civil and military authorities in India have not been infrequent; but the good sense and good feeling of the contending functionaries have generally preserved them from an open rupture, and the history of the conflict has never before been brought so prominently and so painfully to public notice. The voice

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of the community at large has decided the question in favour of the statesman; but even the failings of so brave a soldier as Sir Charles Napier will be handled with tenderness, and all will rejoice when the errors of his declining years are suffered to rest with him in the grave.

We regret that, in the account of the Burmese war, its causes and early management are not treated with a more severe pen. That war was immoral, however much the march of conquest and the evident destiny of the Saxon might point to it. "It must needs be that offences come, but woe unto him by whom they come." He thus alludes to the visit of the Burmese Envoy (who will, no doubt, be not in the least astonished to see himself immortalised in Indian History,) and thus notices the closing rule of the present Governor General.

Nor was the proclamation of peace a mere empty sound. From that time, with the exception of a few local disturbances, attributed to the lawlessness of organized bands of dakoits, or professional robbers, there have been cheering indications of the good and loyal feeling of our new subjects. Of the pacific intentions of the Burmese court, there is no reason to entertain a doubt. Towards the close of 1854, a complimentary embassy, despatched by the King of Ava, visited Calcutta, and was received with overflowing hospitality and gratifying respect. The usual military spectacles having been exhibited to him, the ambassador, after a somewhat protracted sojourn at the Anglo-Indian capital was taking his leave of the Governor-General, when, seemingly encouraged by the respect which had been shown to him, he blurted out an unauthorized request for the restoration of Pegu.* Unexpected as was the demand, and preposterous as was its character, Lord Dalhousie received it with remarkable self-possession and answered with the greatest coolness, that as long as the sun shone in the heavens, the British ensign should wave over Pegu. The crestfallen ambassador took his departure, and embarrassed by the failure into which his own presumption had precipitated him, hesitated to make known at the Court of Ava an incident so little to his credit. Whether the new King, though he may not have authorized the demand made by his representative, will ratify a treaty for the formal cession of Pegu, is a question which time only can solve; but, in the meanwhile, there seems to be little probablity of any outward disturbance of the existing peace.

Thus has it been the fortune of Lord Dalhousie, a ruler by no means of a restless and ambitious nature, to extend at both its extreme points—both at its north-western and south-eastern boundaries—our ever-expanding Indian empire. The necessities of war, however, have not disturbed the just balance of his mind. A man of first-rate administrative capacity, he has devoted his rare energies to the internal improvement of the country, and his yet unfinished administration will be as celebrated in history for the triumphs of civilization as for the victories of war.

Nor would this chapter be complete without brief mention of another circumstance, illustrative of the administration of Lord Dalhousie; a circumstance gratifying in itself, and of a very extraordinary and suggestive character when viewed in connexion with the striking incidents detailed in a preceding chapter. In the early part of 1855, after some preparatory correspondence, Hyder Khan, one of the sons of Dost Mohammed, the Ameer of Cabul, came down to Peshawur to conclude, on the part of his father, a friendly treaty with the British government. And the negotiations were brought to a close in the most satisfactory manner. When all circumstances of place and persons are considered, this will appear a very remarkable practical comment on the history of the war in

* It is stated by some authorities that the demand was made under instructions from, and on the part of, the King, but the balance of evidence is in favour of a contrary supposition.

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Affghanistan. Peshawur, now a British cantonment, was the very bone of contention which had rendered it so difficult, seventeen years before, to bring Dost Mohammed into a friendly alliance with us. Hyder Khan was governor of Ghuznee, when the English carried it by assault, and, by the capture of the place, dispersed the last hopes of Dost Mohammed. And Mr. John Lawrence was the brother of Captain George Lawrence, who had seen Hyder Khan's brother slay Sir William Macnaghten. And thus, it may be said, after some twenty years of war and diplomacy, after an enormous waste of blood and of treasure, that has been accomplished at the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration which might have been done at the commencement of Lord Auckland's. We have concluded a friendly treaty with the man whom the Affghans are content to recognize as their chief.

The concluding chapter gives an account of the internal Government of India, a subject too much misunderstood and too little known even in India itself. It is altogether the best in the book. We question only this paragraph—or rather the concluding part of it, which might better have been omitted.

> The lieutenant-governorship of the North-western Provinces, since its institution, has been held by Sir Charles Metcalfe, by Mr. Alexander Ross, by Mr. T. C. Robertson, by Sir George Clerk, by Mr. Thomson (who, after holding the office for many years with great distinction, died at his post, shortly after his nomination to the government of Madras), and by Mr. J. R. Colvin. For the government of Bengal, the Company have been fortunate in the election of an officer peculiarly qualified for the duties devolving upon him. For some years Mr. Halliday, a civilian of high character and uncommon ability, as Secretary to the Bengal Government had been little less than the Governor of the Lower Provinces of India. His nomination to the office, therefore, found him ripe for his work.

As the judicial part of the British Government has ever been its weakest side, the following remarks may be of interest to our readers :—

> It has been often remarked, that the tendency of recent arrangements for the distribution of the administrative agencies of the Company, has been to elevate the revenue department of the public service at the expense of the judicial; and it is acknowledged, even by the defenders of the old system, that the judicial department is the weakest point of the Company's administration. Great efforts were made by Lord Cornwallis, at the close of the last century, to elevate the character of the Company's judges. The administration of justice had been considered as 'a subordinate duty attached to the office of collector of the revenues." But he determined to "vest the collection of the revenues, and the administration of justice, in separate officers." The principal judgeships, he determined, should be the "first in importance in the Civil Service," and conferred only on men "distinguished for their integrity, ability, and knowledge of the manners, customs, and languages of the natives; and their allowances should be proportionate to the greatness of their trust." But somehow or other, in process of time, under other governors, this wise system deteriorated, and the elevation of the judicial character, aimed at by Lord Cornwallis was never effected. The judicial department has never been kept distinct from others, nor has any legal and judicial training been considered necessary to qualify a Company's servant to sit on the Bench. Men have sometimes made choice of a particular line of the public service and, as far as circumstances and the will of their masters have admitted of the adhesion, have adhered to it with some steadfastness. But the general rule is to pass from one line of the public service to another, as appointments fall vacant, so that, when a public functionary has been serving for some time with credit in one department, and has earned promotion by his zeal and assiduity, he is, not

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improbably, sent to another part of the country to serve in a different department ; and he has, perhaps, all his local and functional experience to acquire anew.

The machinery of judicial administration varies in different presidencies of India, so that it is difficult to give an exact description of it that will suit all parts of the country. But the following account may be accepted as of sufficiently wide application to represent the general system. The principal civil business is entrusted to certain native judges. In almost all cases the first appeal is to them. The increase, both in the number and the importance of these native judgeships, is one of the greatest administrative improvements of modern times. The native judges are of different grades. The judicial officer of the lowest grade is called a "Moonsiff." He is empowered to adjudicate suits involving questions of money not exceeding £30. From among these the next higher grade of judges are chosen. They are called "Sudder Aumeens," and their jurisdiction extends to suits of £100. From these, again the highest class of native judges, called "Principal Sudder Aumeens," are chosen. The jurisdiction of these last is unlimited ; but, in all cases, there is a right of appeal to the higher functionaries ; and in the last, where suits extending to more than £500 are concerned, the appeal is to the Sudder Court, or chief judicial tribunal at the capital. By these native judges almost all original suits are decided It has been stated by a recent writer, on the authority of official statistics, that in the north-west provinces of India, in the year 1840, only 20 original suits were decided by European officers, whilst nearly 45,000 were decided by native judges.

Thus the European judges became, almost exclusively, judges of appeal. The system is one of native agency, with European supervision. The English "Zillah Judge," only in very special cases, exercises original jurisdiction. He sits mostly as a judge of appeal. In cases involving a larger amount than £500, an appeal lies from him to the Suddur or chief court, at the capital. This is at once a supreme, civil and criminal tribunal. "There are," says Mr. Campbell, "at present, five judges in the court at Calcutta, and three at Agra ; at Madras, one member of Council is president, and there are three ordinary judges ; at Bombay one member of Council is president, and there are four judges." These judgeships are appointments of great importance, with high salaries attached to them and they are generally conferred on some of the ablest men in the service. From these Sudder Courts again there is an appeal to the Privy Council ; but as such appeals involve much expense, and much delay, they are necessarily few.

We have hitherto spoken only of civil justice. The criminal justice of the country is more in the hands of European officers. A class of functionaries, called "Deputy-Magistrates," has been recently established, and natives of India find entrance into it. But the business, generally, is conducted by European magistrates and judges. The magistrate either exercises summary jurisdiction, in cases sent before him by the police, or he commits the prisoner to be tried by the Sessions' judge, according to the nature and extent of the offence. Much depends, therefore, upon the character of these Sessions' judges. The due administration of justice is not easy, in any part of the world. In India, it is especially difficult. The proceedings before the English judge are carried on in a foreign language ; and he has to fathom such depths of perjury, as in this country, are wholly unknown. In India, almost any amount of false swearing may be obtained for a few shillings—almost, it might be said, for a few pence,—so that a judge has not only to decide according to the evidence before him, but according to what appears to be the balance of credibility, where different parties swear to totally opposite facts, and in all probability, both are lying. To do this satisfactorily, it is necessary that the judge should possess a distinct knowledge of the language, a clear insight into native character, and a good perception of all those local and incidental circumstances, which may throw a side-light upon the case adjudicated. He ought, too, to be experienced in the work of judicial investigation—to possess a mind habituated to the weighing of evidence—and an energy, which neither the distressing effects of the climate, nor the weariness of business without interest, can overcome or reduce. But it is not always that the Sessions' judges are selected for these qualifications. "Some judges," says an able

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member of the Company's civil service, who is not likely to overstate the case as against his own class, "are old and nervous : some are old, disappointed and cautious and cases are brought before them under the most unfavourable circumstances. Some weigh straws, and unable to make up their minds, think acquittal the safest course ; some considering themselves charged with the interests of the prisoner, as opposed to the magistrate, seek for every argument for acquittal, substantial, or technical : and none have any direct interest in the success or failure of the executive administration. Indeed, with Indian police, Indian witnesses, Indian contradictions, and clever Indian criminals, and cut off as the judge completely is from many of the best means of discovering the truth, it requires great nerve and great confidence in the proceedings of the magistrate to convict, unless the evidence is more overwhelming than can be generally obtained. The tendency, indeed, is rather to the acquittal of the guilty, than the punishment of the innocent. It has sometimes happened, that for want of legal and technical evidence, notorious offenders, as *Thugs* and *Dakoits* (professional murderers and gang-robbers), have been acquitted, upon the evidence of members of their own fraternity, who have personated priests, bankers, or other respectable witnesses, and sworn an *alibi* in favour of their comrades. Instances, on the other hand, of excessive or inconsistent punishments awarded in the Company's criminal courts, might be adduced ; but there are few judicial tribunals, against which, some such charges might not be brought. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that this department of the Company's executive government is more deficient than any other. We shall speak presently of measures, which is supposed, will have the effect of improving the system.

Like the paragraph immediately preceding this, the following may be a *little* too highly coloured. The writer views the matter from a home point of view, and takes the Government at their word, on the subject of education. Some in India have already had reason to distrust them :—

It is not permitted to us to enter inio details ; bnt it may be briefly noted before we pass on to glance at other ameliorative efforts, that the year 1854 was distinguished by a great educational movement, from which the happiest results are expected to flow, when the system then initiated is more fully developed. Up to this time there had been in our educational efforts something desultory and incoherent. But the great measure of 1845 was one of organization and combination. The educational became an integral department of government under a responsible minister.

The administrative agency was at once elevated and extended. For the first time there was an open and authoritative recognition of the efforts of Missionary and other private bodies. Grants in aid were offered to all without reference to the peculiar tenets of the presiding authorities. And orders went forth for the institution of universities, which were to confer degrees upon their *alumni*. In all this there is good hope of progress ; and there is little doubt that the hope will be fulfilled.

The concluding paragraph is well worthy of the history of the British in India. It hits upon what has long been the curse of Indian Government, and what has made the sincerity of all its reforms to be doubted, even when they were sincere.

With the prospect of continued peace, with the energies both of governing bodies and of individuals now straining in the right direction, with an enlarged national sense of the duties of the mother country towards her great Eastern dependency, there is hopeful assurance of a future for India far brighter than anything which the retrospect yields in the most prosperous epochs of her past. But much remains yet to be done for the people ; and it is only by unintermittent zeal in behalf of the subject millions, and by sustained efforts wisely directed towards the public good, that we can satisfactorily solve the

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great problem of government which has been laid before us. There is a tendency towards a fitful spasmodic kind of well-doing against which it were to be desired that the rulers of India should guard themselves. The stimulus to exertion ought not to reside in any accidental or transient circumstance—in the fleeting attention of Parliament, the casual interest of the public, the activity of a reform society, or the hostility of disappointed individuals. It is only by continually striving, as though every year were the last of an expiring charter, and every day the eve of a great Parliamentary conflict, that we can prove ourselves worthy of the great charge entrusted to us, and justify the ways of God to man in the foundation of the British Indian Empire.

We have viewed this work, and the new edition of it, wholly in an educational light, and this is, we believe, the chief object for which it is intended. But while according praise to the present Editor for what he has done, we must make some exceptions. It is defective in the educational *machinery*, if we may use the expression, necessary for its full utility. This could have been perfectly supplied by the publishers themselves, who are well known as men of intelligence and literary ability, without any Editor. There is an index, but for an educational work it should have been more of the *raisonné* character. There is a map, but it is the old one reproduced, with the addition of a separate section of the Burmese coast. We would recommend the following changes and additions. Strike out the first chapter entirely, since it is a mass of general description and not up to the times, and substitute a chapter on the Geology of India, and its Physical Geography. Condense the chapters on the Portuguese and early English voyages, adding to the former an account of the St Thomé Christians and the Jesuits. Break up the chapters on the Mogul dynasties into smaller sections on the separate Emperors. Re-write the chapter on the British conquest of the Carnatic and introduce both Clive and Warren. Hastings more prominently. Condense the two chapters on Mysore into one, and those on the Mahratta and Pindaree campaigns into one. Put the date at the head of each page, give a list of all the Governors-General and the Governors of the various Presidencies, chronologically arranged, with a tabular statement of the chief events in the official life of each. Give a list of all the Charters, with a simple statement of the chief objects of each. In the earlier part of the work add a general chapter, giving an outline of the history of Hindoo and Indo-Mahomedan Literature (and of course religion); add a chapter on the Geography (descriptive) of India, which would save the necessity of referring to other works. The volume is large already, too large perhaps for a School-book, but space would be gained were useless details to be struck out, and chapters condensed, even though new ones were added.

After all, we believe, the cause of education would be advanced, were the present Editor himself to undertake the task of bringing out a really good School History of India, were he to do for it what Dr. Schmitz has done for Greece and Rome, with the help of Thirlwall and Niebhur. Mill and Thornton might be his Thirlwall and Niebhur, and with his own personal knowledge of Indian History,

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with his ready access to documents, with his knowledge of Indian necessities and his present literary reputation, such a work would command universal approbation, and meet with universal success. We would commend it to his immediate attention.

The other work at the head of this notice is a far better school-book than Mr. Murray's. Indeed all the histories in this "School Series" are decidedly superior to any that we have seen. We would especially notice those of Greece and Rome by Professor Browne. The present one of India is written, we believe, by Mr. Gleig himself, and none are better fitted to do so. It is decidedly the best summary of Indian History that we have anywhere seen, and may be used with much success as a text book in young classes. Were the style to be a little more relaxed, and the words a little more Saxon, it would be still more useful. Its vocabulary of Indian words, marked according to the pronunciation, is well fitted to be useful to the purely English student, while the price (one shilling) puts it within the reach of all. We give the following as a fair specimen of the little Manual :—

1828.—Five years being the appointed time for the continuance in office of a Governor-General, Lord Amherst quitted Calcutta in 1828 ; and was succeeded by a nobleman who was not now for the first time called upon to administer the affairs of an Indian province. General Lord William Bentinck had held office as Governor of Madras in times of considerable difficulty, and shown himself worthy of the trust. He now assumed the reins of government in Bengal, resolute to preserve his position, and improve, but not to enlarge, the empire of the Company which he served. The successes of former years enabled him to keep generally at peace ; and except to suppress some internal disturbances, or to chase away plunderers from abroad, the Indian army had under him no professional employment. But his administration presented its own distinctive features too. Up to the period of his arrival, there had existed, both at home and in India the most sensitive dread of every thing like interference with the religious prejudices of the natives. Not only were Christian Missionaries discountenanced, and converts to Christianity treated by their Christian rulers as the offscourings of society, but practices the most abhorrent to the impulses of natural humanity were suffered to go on under the eyes of the authorities. I may mention among these, the Suttee—a horrible rite which, is consummated by the burning of the widow of a deceased Brahmin on the funeral pile of her husband ; and the scarcely less inhuman custom which prevailed among the Rajpoots, of putting to death their female children as soon as they were born. These, with the murderous ceremonies which attended the annual progress of the idol Juggernaut from its temple,—when hundreds of pilgrims threw themselves on the ground to be crushed by the wheels of the enormous car in which the idol was carried, were not only held to be beyond the reach of English interference, but were in some sort sanctioned and promoted by the English government. If a Brahmin wished for a guard to protect him and his followers at a Suttee, no English magistrate or officer would have refused it, while the temple of the bloody idol was kept up, and his priests maintained, by a tax levied upon pilgrims, under the authority of the Christian rulers of the country.

To Lord William Bentinck belongs the honour of having struck the first decisive blow at these mischievous delusions. He forbade any further exposure of young children, declaring that any person guilty of the act should be tried for murder. And since he could not go so far as to stop the Suttee, he at least provided that no woman should be burned against her will. For he required that notice should be given of every intended Suttee, and that an English magistrate

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should be at hand to release and protect the doomed creature, should she, at the last moment, desire to retract her promise, often fraudulently obtained. Actuated by the same right spirit, Lord William, though he could not directly promote the work of conversion, took care that no impediments should be thrown in the way of the preachers of the gospel. And the crying abomination of the temple of Juggernaut he at least diminished, by withdrawing the military guard, which used to attend and do honour to the ceremony of death.

In the conduct of these and other measures of a like sort, all of them having a tendency to good, though some perhaps might be a little premature, Lord William Bentinck passed his years of office in India. In 1834 he resigned, and after a brief interval, was succeeded by Lord Auckland. This latter nobleman came into power in 1835, just two years after a renewal of the Company's charter, concerning which, and the terms imposed upon the proprietors by the government of the day, a few words may not be out of place.

When the Company applied for a renewal of its charter in 1813, the boon was granted, but on certain conditions, which, it was supposed at the time, would materially interfere with the profits of the corporation, besides operating in a dangerous manner upon the tempers of the natives. The trade to India was thrown open to British merchants generally; and from Glasgow, Liverpool, &c., as well as from London, ships went forth freighted with goods that they might bring back in exchange the productions of the far east. This step was not taken without a great deal of preliminary inquiry; and there were grave authorities, who foretold only evil consequences from it. But their predictions were falsified. For awhile, indeed, neither Glasgow nor Manchester could compete in the Indian markets with the native weavers. All, therefore, that followed this partial unshackling of commerce, was to render Indian commodities cheaper and more abundant in England, and to give to Europeans, resident in India, an opportunity of providing themselves at less cost than formerly with the productions of Great Britain. The Hindoo weaver still retained a monopoly of his own market; and the loss to native operatives was as trifling as the gain to British manufacturers of cotton clothes was small.

Time passed, and the improvements introduced into the machinery of their mills, enabled the manufacturers of Great Britain to fabricate articles more beautiful than any which the native weavers could produce, and at a less cost. Now the Hindoo, though a creature of custom, is never swayed by ideas of patriotism, real or imaginary. As soon as the English merchant offered him cotton and woollen cloths, better than he could purchase from the native weaver, and at a more moderate rate, he dealt with the European. And so the manufactures of Great Britain received a stimulus proportioned to the check that was given to the Indian produce.

Though the trade of India was opened to all England in 1813, the East India Company still retained a monopoly of the trade to China. The Chinese, it was argued, were a proud and jealous people. The servants of the Company knew, from long habit, how to deal with them; but there was good ground to fear that private persons, if brought immediately into contact with them, would without, perhaps, intending it, outrage all their prejudices and rouse their jealousy. In this case the exclusion of English ships from the only port then open to foreign traders would follow, and our teas and other precious articles, heretofore brought in abundance from Canton, would either be cut off from us, or must be sought for through other channels. Besides, the Company urged, that on the profits of the Chinese trade they mainly depended for the means of maintaining the army and carrying on the affairs of the Indian government; and the King's ministers, looking to the revenue paid into the treasury of 400,000*l* without trouble or expense in collecting, did not feel themselves authorised to interfere with a system, which, after all, laid, as it was urged, a very trifling tax upon the people of England.

The experiment of 1813, however it may have operated in India, had worked so well for the manufacturing and trading interests of Great Britain, that on the expiration of the charter in 1833, a demand was made for a free intercourse with China likewise; and, after a stout but ineffectual resistance, the question was

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carried. From that moment the East India Company ceased, in its corporate capacity, to be a commercial body. It broke up its warehouses in Leadenhall Street and elsewhere; discharged the officers and crews of its mercantile marine; sold its magnificent ships, which, on more than one occasion, had well sustained the honour of the flag in war; and reduced its establishments. To govern wisely the Indian empire became thenceforth the sole duty of the Court of Directors, and the proprietors of stock had only the revenue of that empire to look to for the payment of their dividends.

From this it will be seen that Mr. Gleig does not confine himself to the beaten track of *dynastic and statistic* historians, but takes a leaf out of Niebhur's and Macaulay's book.

A Dream of a Star, and other Poems, by R. F. F. Calcutta, 1855.

In almost every successive number of the *Review*, we are called upon to notice local literature, or literature that is exclusively Indian in its origin and associations, and that literature is, or generally aims after, a poetical character. We are not sure that there is any actual analogy between the two, but the fact is true, that as the first literary efforts of every infant nation are of a poetical character, so those of individuals generally tend towards the same end. In the former case, an *infant* nation full of youth and its sanguine ignorance, body forth their thoughts and emotions in a lyrical dress, in the latter, we have authors no longer actual infants or youths, with all the glow of emotion produced by the first impress of nature on the virgin soul, but literary infants, new to the sea of writing and printing, and publishing, *griffins* in fact, who love to see themselves in print, especially if it be regularly and beautifully measured off in verse lines. Where physical and literary youth are combined, we have lines full of emotion, but expressed in so lack-a-daisical and unnatural a form, that a feeling of disgust is the result. We see this in most of the first efforts of our great poets—efforts that on account of this very character have often been crushed, and sneered out of the literary world. Most of the first attempts of the poets of the Byron and Lake Schools illustrate this. Had Byron not possessed too stout a heart and felt too great a contempt for the opinion of critical humanity, he would have ended his poetical career where he began it, as we believe, many a sensitive soul, brimful of God's own poetry, but inexperienced in the power of expressing it artistically, has often done. Keats is the type of a class, numerous as the publishing and philanthropic world well know, little known to that public who are too often led aside by prejudiced and interested critics, but known to him "who will not bruise the broken reed, nor quench the smoking flax."

Looking upon the effects of harsh and violent criticism on the author to whom it is applied, the History of Literature shews us that there is a crisis, a turning-point, to which if a man does not reach, he

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becomes for ever a coward and dies broken-hearted, and beyond which if he goes, he may be either a stout hearted soul who can revile and sneer back in his turn, or a very misanthrope, who values the opinion of critics less than he would that of savages. Keats was one of the former class. His Endymion, that fair child of his own offspring, was in very truth a part of himself. How delicately he nursed it as it came forth from his youthful brain, how carefully he sheltered it from all rude assaults, they alone can know who have themselves felt the *afflatus*, and who have dwelt with a strange pleasure over their first production. And so it was that, when the crushing pen of the *Quarterly Reviewer* annihilated all its fancied beauties, poor Keats almost died with his offspring. Byron is the best example of the latter class—a man who went to the opposite extreme, which after all to him who wrote Childe Harold, who fought in the cause of the patriot, and died at Missilonghi was an unnatural one. To such an extent did his contempt for critics go, that in his Don Juan he could write thus of Keats :

"John Keats, who was killed off by one critique,
Just as he really promised something great,
If not intelligible, without Greek,
Contrived to talk about the Gods of late,
Much as they might have been supposed to speak,
Poor fellow ! His was an untoward fate.
'Tis strange the mind, that very fiery particle
Should let itself be snuffed out by an article."

It becomes then the critic, and especially one who is in a position of authority, and whose every dictum may be received by the world as true, to be careful how he checks God's work in the poet's soul, and at the same time to avoid the other extreme of praising bombast and exalting conceit to the skies. So-called and self-elected critics, such as Gilfillan and his diseased school, are ever doing this, discovering rough diamonds in some far obscure land. Our modern school of young poets is an excrescence in literature which should for ever be cut off, with the unnaturally swollen bulb from which they spring.

It was not so that Christopher North encouraged young poets. His *protegés* were poets indeed. He had the judicious taste to know where poetry really existed even in embryo, and many is the now happy local poet who owed his first knowledge of his own powers, and first ability to direct them aright, to Wilson's kindly appreciation and advice.

We have been led to make these remarks by the character of the volume before us. Abstractly viewed as a poetical work, and viewed with reference to the canons of a healthy and stern criticism, it might be pronounced to be altogether unworthy of notice. But viewed in its tendencies and capabilities, viewed as it is *in posse*, viewed in the circumstances of Indian life, and of its own production, viewed too in the light of the general critical remarks that we have already made, it is worthy of notice, and to a certain extent, and in a certain sense, of encouragement. It is a first essay, and it is a

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modest one—modest not only in the promises and statements made in the preface, but modest in the whole tone of the volume. It is not that the volume appeals to the reader apologetically, deprecating as it were, any attempt at harsh criticism, but the gentleness and gentlemanliness, the great domestic emotion and true natural simplicity that distinguish almost every piece, make the reader feel that if the writer is not a great poet, he is at least a true man, whose thoughts, and feelings, and experiences, the world will be the better of hearing and knowing and comparing with their own. The "domestic' is alone the field in which any mediocre Indian poet will meet with success. This is seen in the following pieces :—

HOME THOUGHTS.

The gloom of night's o'ershading
The cheerful light of day,
And my country's shores are fading
From my tear-dimm'd sight away.

With to-morrow's dawn awaking,
My wishful eye will strain,
O'er the foam crown'd billows breaking,
For those distant hills in vain.

Each cloud the horizon crowning,
To fancy's treacherous gaze,
Will seem a dark cliff frowning,
Through noon's deceitful haze.

E'en now my memory's turning,
To scenes I priz'd of yore ;
And my heart in absence burning
With love unfelt before.

Now the haunts I trod in childhood
Rise fresh before my view,
Primrose beds deep in the wild-wood,
Banks where early violets grew

Trees beneath whose shade reclining
I've 'scap'd the heat of noon,
Through whose giant branches shining
I've watch'd the harvest moon.

Groves amid whose lonely mazes
I've spent long summer days,
Dreaming o'er the pictur'd pages
Of wild romantic lays.

The broad majestic river,
My light skiff there afloat,
The tall aspen's lulling quiver,
'Neath which I moor'd my boat.

While memory's thus displaying
Those scenes so bright and clear,
Fancy sees across them straying
Lov'd forms that made them dear.

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Now methinks I hear the voices
Of those I love again,
And my fluttering heart rejoices
At some long cherish'd strain.

It is past, my dream of gladness !
Night broods along the deep ;
To my lonely couch in sadness
I go, but not to sleep.

SEPARATION.

Still on my lips its fragrance lingers,
'Tis full of pure and tender bliss,
The memory of that love-fraught kiss,
And the soft pressure of thy fingers
Sent through my heart so deep a thrill,
It seems as if I felt it still.

Loving wife, so steadfast and true-hearted,
Slowly they'll pass, and full of pain,
The hours until we meet again ;
From thee and our dear infant parted,
I want the better part of life,
A sportive child, and faithful wife.

In dreams I gaze on your lov'd faces,
And my heart knows e'en thus a joy,
Beholding thee and thy sweet boy ;
I hear thee, feel thy fond embraces,
And waking how I hate the light
That puts such pleasant dreams to flight.

It is difficult to catch the full spirit of Orientalism, as Moore, who had never seen the Orient, caught it, and hence we commend R. F. F., for attempting so little that is descriptive of the East, of India, its history and associations. We give one little specimen :—

THE SEIKH MOTHER'S LAMENT.

"Sirdar Khan Singh was buried and killed by the ruins of the exploded magazine : his body was found so heavily ironed that he could not possibly have walked ; the body of his little boy was found beside his, both in the attitude of calm repose ; they had evidently been killed in sleep ; they were buried with all honor, and the gold bangles on the boy's arms were sent to his surviving relatives."

A YEAR IN THE PUNJAB.

And thou art gone, my precious one ! To me
Henceforth the world is desolate and drear,
Since thy blithe prattle I no more may hear,
Never again thy form of beauty see.

Thy brave sire, too ! so fond, so true to me !
He had no heart for falsehood, and I swear
His spirit was as free from guile as fear ;
And yet they link his name with treachery.

Fetter'd and manacled, yet calm his rest,
Thou, in sweet slumber, in his bosom lay,
When Heaven in mercy call'd your souls away
To the bright, peaceful mansions of the Blest.

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Lov'd ones! from you my absence will be brief,
A few dark hours of solitude and woe;
A little space the woman's tears shall flow,
Ere the freed soul shall bid farewell to grief.

There is something pleasing in the following, though it is not written as a Missionary would have done, who has himself toiled and "travailed in birth for souls" :—

THE MISSIONARIES IN INDIA.

What seek ye here on these golden shores,
So far from your island home?
Ivory, spices, rich silken stores,
Say, is it for such ye come?

There are diamonds pure in Golconda's mine,
Fair pearls in the Ocean's sand,
Here ruby and emerald brightly shine,
And gold lies on every hand.

There are things more rich than silken woof,
More pure and more bright than gems,
That ever hung from a kingly roof,
Or sparkled in Diadems.

There are erring souls, 'tis these we prize,
It is these we come to seek,
We fain would open the blind man's eyes,
Comfort the contrite and meek.

We fear that Goethe's "Kenst du das Land wo die Zitronen blühen" had much to do with the inspiration of the following :—

AN UNKNOWN LAND.

There's a joyous clime, where the mourner's breast
Forgets the cares of this false cold land,
Where the weary may find a place of rest,
And the happy may join a kindred band.

There are sounds of mirth at the noontide hour,
Where gay groups dance 'neath the chesnut trees,
Whisperings at eve in the leafy bower,
And songs at night on the moon-lit seas.

There are lovely haunts in the greenwood shades,
Where the coy Wood-Nymphs unseen may sport,
There are circles green in the grassy glades,
Trac'd by the fairies' midnight court.

There are secret caves, whence the streamlet springs,
Where the garish sunbeams never come,
And the Nymph of the fountain sits and sings
Her low sweet strain 'mid the solemn gloom.

The streamlet's murmur will oft recall
That cherish'd lay as it glides along,
And the listener may hear in the waterfall
Some scatter'd notes of that plaintive song.

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There are kingly rivers, beside whose streams
The wild flowers blossom the live long year,
Where the light of summer eternally gleams,
And the waves are ever still and clear.

There are groves where the silvery orange flower,
Through the dark foliage glances bright,
Where Acacias wave o'er the Jasmin bower,
And the Lily uprears its bells of light.

There are shapes of beauty so passing fair,
Their semblance was never seen on earth.
Whose birghtest form hath a shade of care,
And is sorrow's child from her very birth.

There are scenes more lovely than ever shone
On the raptur'd painter's trancèd sight,
Such as thou never hast gaz'd upon,
Earth hath no colors half so bright.

'Tis a land where nothing of earth hath part,
Guarded by many a potent spell,
The air-built clime of a poet's heart.
The home where his fancy loves to dwell.

While R. F. F. somewhat succeeds in the smaller pieces in the volume, we fear that he entirely fails in the "Dream of a Star." The true *vis poetica* is not seen merely in the exquisite poetical handling of detached or small passages, but its very highest manifestation is evident in the *conception* of the plan of a great poem, such as the glorious epics and dramas of Greece, Spain, and England. This is entirely wanting in the "Dream of a Star," and it seems to our unimaginative soul to be more like the pretty ravings of a moon-struck sonnetteer, than the well-ordered, artistic and lyric work of a true Poet. It wants the two great requisites of a truly good poem.—Unity and Unconsciousness. We give an extract from it, and conclude by reminding our readers that our remarks have been chiefly influenced by these three considerations—the author writes in India and for Anglo-Indians—it is his first attempt—the whole is distinguished by gentlemanliness, gentleness and modesty. Strange canons of criticism, you will say. Yes, but true practically, when applied to such works as the "Dream of a Star" and other Poems:—

Sorrow is the night of man,
In grief alone to him is given,
With intellectual eye, to scan
The glorious mysteries of Heaven.
Joy's rich sunshine gives to view
One wide arch of heavenly blue,
But as, when night, with darkling hand,
Draws her gray curtain o'er the land,
Each of Heaven's shining host
Appears, at his appointed post;
So, when sorrow's night comes o'er us,
Starry visions rise before us;

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A mighty firmament of thought
Opens upon us all unsought ;
Then to man is given to look
Into Wisdom's heaven-writ book,
And from its exhaustless store
To learn a new and priceless lore.

These little truants, side by side,
Through the gathering darkness glide,
With light steps, and in silence pass,
Where swelling mounds of rank dark grass
Disclose the garner-house of Death;
And now they draw a freer breath,
Pause, and look round with eager eyes,
Peering towards the Eastern skies.
Why move with such a noiseless tread,
As if they fear'd to wake the dead ?
Why keep such silence ?—Death's dull ear
May not their gentle voices hear ;
No sound shall reach it, till the blast
Of Angel trump proclaims that Time is past.

Like one erect, though gray with years,
The simple Village Church uprears
Its time-worn tower, with ivy clad,
And the old yew-tree, dark and sad,
Stands like a mourner in his woe,
Weeping o'er those who sleep below,
Peeping through its topmost branches
A tremulous ray of star-light glances,
Cheering and tender as the light,
Which fond hope sheds on sorrow's night ;
And pleasure fills those infant eyes,
For night by night they watch the rise
Of that lov'd star, whose beam imparts
A gladness to their artless hearts
Innocent joy !—maturer years
Will vainly seek, nor prayers nor tears
Can e'er recal—we only know
Such pure delight before the glow,
Which the new-born spirit from Heaven bears,
Is chill'd by the cold world's toils and cares.

Kneeling beside a mother's knee,
How sweet is the prayer of Infancy !
How sullied hearts, in after years,
Tortur'd by doubts, oppress'd by fears,
Look back, with sad regretful gaze,
To Childhood's pure and guileless days.
And long to utter praise and prayer,
Simple and true as childhood's were.

Folded in Slumber's soft embrace,
Sweet smiles enwreath each little face.
Till the glad mother fondly deems,
That angel voices haunt their dreams ;
And who will say it cannot be
That Guardian Angels, ever near,
Watch by the couch of Infancy,
And whisper in the sleeper's ear

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Tales of a land all bright and fair,
And happy children dwelling there,
Till the delight the spirit feels
In smiles across the features steals,
As ripples on the fountain show
The welling of the spring below.

Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, held at Calcutta, September 4-7, 1855. *Calcutta*, 1856.

This neat little volume, the contents of which appeared first in three successive numbers of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, will be hailed with great satisfaction by all who are interested in missionary operations, as carried on in India, and particularly by young Missionaries, because it comprehends, in a compendious form, the lessons of experience in reference to some of the most important aspects and branches of Missionary work.

The introduction supplies the following information regarding the Conference :—

During the first week in September, [1855] there was held in Calcutta a series of meetings, of peculiar interest to those who watch the progress of the Missionary cause in India. Owing to various circumstances, which rarely occur at one time, nearly all the Missionaries residing in the country parts of Bengal were brought to the chief town of the Presidency ; and it was arranged that, with the Calcutta Missionaries, a General Conference should be held to take into consideration the present position of the chief questions connected with their common work. The meetings of the Conference lasted four days ; and by careful attention to orderly arrangements, a great amount of business was got through in that brief period. The greatest harmony prevailed throughout the numerous discussions : the attention of all was directed exclusively to Missionary subjects ; and not a word was said respecting those ecclesiastical differences which have so much divided the churches of Christendom.

The list of members enumerates forty-seven Missionaries, and seven other persons, of whom three are ministers.

The plan adopted at the business meetings (for there were also two purely devotional meetings, two social meetings at breakfast, and one public meeting) was very practical. The discussion of each subject was opened by one of the Missionaries, who was supposed to be most intimately acquainted with it, by reading a paper previously prepared, after which all present had an opportunity of expressing their opinions on the results of their experience. At the close of the discussions, or at the next meeting, Resolutions were adopted, embodying the substance of the views, held by the majority on each subject.

The following is a list of the topics that were selected for consideration :—

Tuesday, September 4th. 1 —The progress made by Christian Missions in Bengal. Paper prepared by the Rev. J. Mullens.

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Tuesday, September 4th. 2.—The peculiar difficulties encountered by Missions in Bengal. Paper by the Rev. A. F. Lacroix.

Wednesday, September 5th. 3.—Preaching the Gospel in the native tongues. Papers by the Rev J. Wenger, and the Rev. J. Stubbins.

Wednesday, September 5th. 4.—English Missionary Education. Paper by the Rev. D. Ewart.

Thursday, September 6th. 5.—The influence of Indigo planting on the spread of Christianity. Paper (treating also of some kindred topics) prepared by the Rev. F. Schurr.

Thursday, September 6th. 6.—The Zemindari System and Christianity. Paper by the Rev. J. C. Page.

Friday, September 7th. 7.—Improvements desired in Missionary work in India [by its supporters in Europe.] Paper by E. B. Underhill, Esq.

Friday September 7th 8.—Vernacular Christian Literature. Paper by the Rev. J. Long.

Friday, September 7th. 9.—Vernacular Mission Schools. Paper by the Rev. B. Geidt.

Friday, September 7th. 10.—Native Female Education. Paper by the Rev. J. Fordyce.

The "Proceedings" of the Conference are enriched with all these papers, and also contain the cream of the discussions to which they gave rise, and the Resolutions finally adopted regarding them. An Appendix supplies the substance of a paper, by the Rev. W. Smith, which was originally intended to introduce the third topic, but which arrived too late; so that the important subject of preaching in the vernacular tongues is elucidated by three different writers. The second paper of the Appendix treats of Orphan Institutions, as a branch of Missionary labour,—a topic which from want of time could not be discussed.

It is obvious that these "Proceedings" contain rich materials for reflexion; but want of space forbids our dwelling upon them in detail, and we find it difficult to cull choice passages from papers containing so much information in so condensed a form.

We must not, however, omit to call attention to a document, which forms the conclusion of these proceedings, and which consists of "an Appeal from the General Conference of Bengal Protestant Mis-' sionaries to the Committees and Boards of Management of the ' various Missionary Societies in Europe and America." It is a document worthy of the Conference, in which it originated, and of the object at which it aims. The following paragraphs will give some idea of its contents:—

"We are not content with things as they are. It is not that we find fault with efforts in the past, or with the results which they have produced. It is not that we are dissatisfied with what is being done, or with the modes, in which Missions are carried on. But we turn to the other side. We contemplate with profound awe the vast, the indescribable amount of labour yet to be accomplished. We know that the Lord has blessed us. We look on our converts, and on other fruits of Missions with pleasure. But the more we know India, the more we are overwhelmed by the consideration that millions upon millions never hear the Gospel, and that millions upon millions die unconverted. Can you wonder then that we ask for larger agencies; that for this holy service we appeal to you for more men and more means; and that we ask the Church to aid us by more repeated and more fervent prayers? The grounds of our appeal are numerous; the force of our claims is unanswerable. We believe that every kind of plea which can be fairly

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urged on behalf of other idolatrous lands, can be presented with greater force on behalf of India."—p. 161.

"We would suggest that every society should endeavour to send a few more men in proportion to its strength: and so to place them, as to render them a real and powerful addition to the present agency. If out of the twenty societies engaged in Indian Missions, the larger send *ten* men; and others less, so as to secure an average addition of five men each, during the next five years, there will be found no less than five hundred Missionaries in India of whom a hundred will have been entirely added during that brief period. We pray you to regard our appeal for the land in which we labour. We plead for the multitudes we see, whose ignorance we know, whose passage into another world in such numbers unsaved, fills us with mourning and sadness. We ask your efforts. We ask your prayers. May the Lord of the Church himself prepare the harvest, and send forth more labourers to reap it for his praise."

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1. *The Eastern Female's Friend. Edinburgh*, 1855.
2. *Fly Leaves for Indian Homes. I.—The Dawn. II.—Appeal to the Rajahs and Babus of Bengal. III.—Emancipation of India's Daughters. IV.—Shadows on Native Society. V.—Appeal to the Rulers of British India. VI.—Zenana and Select School Scheme. VII.—Christian Ladies in Hindostan. Calcutta*, 1855-6.
3. *Emancipation of Women in India. Calcutta*, 1855.
4. *Native Female Education in India, a Paper submitted to the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries by the Rev. John Fordyce, Calcutta, with the Resolution of the Conference. Calcutta*, 1855.

WERE the "Fly Leaves for Indian Homes" remarkable for nothing else, they would excite our interest by the fact, that they are the only specimen in India of a kind of Periodical Literature, which is largely published in England, and has been the means of immense usefulness in all great social and religious questions. Little in themselves as Tracts and small Magazines have hitherto been, and much abused as they have often been by religionists of various sects, the place taken by them in the literature of our country has been no insignificant one. Often has the history of the influence of religious tracts been written, but never has the influence of the same kind of Literature on great social questions, affecting the temporal weal or woe of whole masses, been fully traced. They have often originated questions of the utmost importance to the race, and when these have been fairly put before the public, have illustrated and assisted them in their various bearings, as nothing else could have done.

It would perhaps be wrong for us to say that religious tracts have done more evil than good, or to place them in the same category with many of our religious hymns, which are as unhealthy in their

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spiritual tone, as they are deadly in their effects on the minds of those who read or use them. But we feel that they are in their proper sphere, and that all must hail them, when brought to bear on social problems on the border land between heaven and earth, problems the solution of which, every man who cares for the welfare of the species, ought to have at heart. This is, we believe, the first case in which such an original literature, not of a newspaper character, has been produced in India, and the cause which it has chosen to uphold, is precisely the cause which hitherto has stood in the way of India's advancement and civilisation, the cause which has been too much neglected by all classes from its very obscurity and difficulty —we mean that of Native Female Education. The whole of the works, whose titles we have given, are intended to aid this work, and in them we see manifested an energy, an enthusiasm, and at the same time a calm wisdom and judgment, such as the cause of the oppressed, the ignorant and the degraded alone can excite.

We need not here shew the immense importance of elevating the women of India, if ever India is to be civilised and to take her proper place in the scale of nations. The simple truth is—a truth now gradually dawning on all who have hitherto attempted to do disinterested good to the country, that until the efforts put forth to educate women are equal to those so largely put forth for the other sex, and equal also to the great obstacles to be met with, all past attempts humanly speaking can bear but little fruit, and all future energies must be foolishly wasted. Nor need we trace the history of such agencies as are already in operation, or organised by a few true and wise philanthropists who are now no more. This was done at some length in our previous number, and to the article there on 'Native Female Education' would we refer our readers. The works before us shew what can be done for a despised cause, when a real *man* undertakes its advocacy and devotes every thought of his heart, and every energy of his nature first to understand and then to advance it. We believe that the author of most, if not all of these, is the Rev. John Fordyce, who came to the country some three years ago for the special purpose of elevating Native Female Education. Then in what a wretched state it was. A few noble hearts—chiefly the wives of Missionaries, had bled for the woes of millions of their own sex and had now and then, but very rarely, enlisted men with energy and wisdom in the work. The result was *comparatively* great—compared, we mean, with the energies put forth, but compared with the grandeur of the object, the mightiness of the obstacles, and the past neglect shewn, it was trifling indeed. What was wanted was for the cause to take a *national* aspect, to be elevated to a national position, to be separated from the mere sectarianism and religionism of opposite sects, and to be placed on the basis of that Bible-Religion, which underlies all evangelical systems, the object of which was announced in such words as these: "to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness

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out of the prison-house." It is this that has been done in the present case, and the result is that, owing chiefly to the new view taken of the question and the new appliances brought to bear on it, it has created an interest in many circles where formerly it was looked on with contempt, and a desire is arising to put forth new efforts among many, who had formerly never thought of the matter. The education of Hindoo women is now a great social and national question; the Churches are recognising it as such, the Press acknowledges it, and all classes, even natives themselves, are becoming stirred regarding it.

In Bengal this is largely owing, under Providence, to the fact that the question has been taken from the narrow region of the purely *clerical* and priestly to the universal and the social, without losing any of that world-Christianity which was given for all. The education of the women of India, and their elevation in the social scale, is that which they have a *right* to in the eyes of God and man, independent of any Christianity or Revelation from heaven whatsoever. Their right is as clear as ever that of the slaves was to liberty, when Wilberforce so nobly pleaded for them on the ground of an injured and degraded humanity. And it will be the policy of those who have now taken up the cause to sink the priestly in the manly, and the purely Missionary in the philanthropic, that thus they may raise those who, like children, might otherwise be hindered from availing themselves of the light and liberty which they bring. "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." We here recommend no abandonment of Christianity such as there is in the Bethune-school, and such as our Government has been guilty of in their whole scheme of godless education. In the "Zenana Scheme" there is no stipulation that shall be excluded. We recommend a dropping of priestly pride and forms and bigotry in the genuine love and charity of a Gospel that is free as the breath of heaven. But when viewed in the light of such a Christianity, how much nobler this scheme becomes, how near to God it is elevated, yea, how like to God man himself becomes when carrying it out. It is such a policy that has given Mr. Fordyce, we believe, such tangible success.

This earnestness in the cause is springing up in India, but we fear it is not so in England—not yet at least. We trust that the same means that have been used here to put it in its proper position will be applied there, so that the philanthropic public, who begin to cease their liberality, or to ask for evidence of its fruits, will see that this is the worm that has been at the root of the tree, and will resolve anew to exert themselves to destroy it for ever. The scheme that has given most promise of success in the education of native women, while almost all others have comparatively failed, is termed the "Zenana and Select School Scheme." The following extract from the 'Fly Leaves' will at once give an account of its nature and success in detail, and serve to shew the style of our

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new periodical literature. We trust soon to see such applied to other great social questions :—

The great desideratum, ever since Native Female Education was begun in Bengal, has been a plan adapted to the Hindu domestic constitution, and fitted to move society by reaching points of influence in the upper ranks. I would cordially commend more or less every plan that has been tried whether Day, Boarding, or Normal Schools ; but they have left unsolved the problem, *How is the agency sent from Europe or trained in India to be employed, so that the benefit immediately of the few shall hasten the general education of India's daughters?*

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM is, I believe, the ZENANA AND SELECT SCHOOL SCHEME.

In a very few cases, governesses have been employed for brief periods by native gentlemen ; and there is reason to believe that not a few young Babus have taught their wives and sisters. Many years ago Mrs. Wilson, Miss Bird, Mrs. Chapman and others visited zenanas, were welcomed, and imparted a little instruction to the inmates ; but so far as we know, there was no plan commenced till the present year, capable of indefinite extension, and on a self-sustaining principle. The plan originated with the Rev. Thomas Smith. So long ago as 1840, he proposed a scheme for the domestic education of the females of the upper classes ; but it met at the time with no cordial, or at least no practical response. This was not his own department of labour, and those whose work it was, would not then take it up. Since February last, it has been my privilege to co-operate with Mr. Smith in commencing a plan similar to that proposed fifteen years ago ; and as the experiment has succeeded admirably these nine months, it may not be premature now to make it known, concealing only for the present the names of those native gentlemen who have nobly dared to advance before their fellows.

The consent of several highly intelligent Babus was obtained to admit a governess, and pay for her services ; and this on the understanding that she would be free to impart religious instruction. A European governess was sent, accompanied by a native girl as her assistant ; and the results, as regards the progress of her pupils, their attachment to herself, and their lively interest in her instructions, are highly gratifying. The only outlay was for the purchase of a horse and gharee, the Babus paying nearly enough for a small salary to the teacher, and the current expenses of the conveyance. Similar arrangements are in progress with other native gentlemen ; and a second governess has just begun and may soon be wholly employed in domestic tuition, for which she is singularly qualified by her prudence and experience, as well as by a thorough knowledge both of English and Bengali.

The leading features of this scheme are the following :—

First.—A *free home* should be provided for the governesses in an Institution devoted to this cause In the experiment which has been so successful already this was cheerfully afforded in the Orphan Home : and, as more Zenanas open, the governesses might reside in the different Female Institutions, which would be no losers by receiving those who are ready to every good work.

Secondly.—Each Governess should be accompanied by an Assistant, or at least an Ayah, in order to sustain the respectability of the scheme, and to secure the fuller confidence of its supporters

Thirdly.—Conveyances and horses, must be provided by the friends of the cause. The expense of hired conveyances would be ruinous. In February I paid Rs. 40, for a conveyance for one governess. This could not be continued, and so a small gharee was purchased. The following is the account of our first experiment ; but it may not always be possible to be so economical :—

Demi-gharee	Co.'s Rs.	250	0	0
Repairs of ditto	,,	60	0	0
Horse	,,	100	0	0
Harness	,,	25	0	0
	Co.'s Rs.	435	0	0

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This sum was advanced by the Treasurer of the Institution under my care, as the purpose was in keeping with its objects, and with the appeals to which local contributions had been the response ; but on many accounts, it is now important that the scheme should have its separate resources.

Fourthly.—The parents or guardians should pay a sum sufficient to meet the whole, or at least the greater part of the current expenses ; and this not so much for the aid which regular payments furnishes to any scheme, but because it involves an important principle, and if acted on, will secure a more solid and healthful, though perhaps a less rapid progress. The following is an account of our first experiment :—

CURRENT EXPENSE ACCOUNT.

From February 1st to October 31st, 1855.

RECEIPTS.

From Babu *****	8 months,	@ 25	Co's Rs	200
From another Babu,.....	Ditto,	@ 16	,,	128
From another Babu,.....	6½ months,	@ 16	,,	104
			Co 's Rs.	432

EXPENDITURE.

For salaries and other current expenses... Co.'s Rs. 452 2 2

The above account requires explanation. The rates are experimental and for elementary tuition—Rs. 16 for those residing in town, and Rs. 25 for those in the suburbs. The salary of the governess is less than it can again be for a like period, because the work being an experiment she retained, part of the time, her salary from the Institution ; and, though latterly separate, it is too small being only Rs. 40. Our aim must be to make salaries vary from Rs. 50 to 100 according to qualifications and actual work. To secure this each should if posssible have four Zenanas (two daily) ; payments should be higher when higher branches are taught ; and a small fund should be provided to meet contingencies.

By *Select Schools*, as part of the Scheme, I refer to what will ere long be common as a step in advance of tuition in Zenanas, viz., several contiguous families meeting in one house for instruction. An arrangement of this kind is already almost completed. This is the second step. The third would be public schools made select by the terms of admission ; and the final result of these and other concurring plans will be schools adapted to every class of India's daughters.

A Manual of Surveying for India, detailing the Mode of operations on the Revenue Surveys in Bengal and the North Western Provinces. Compiled by Captains R. Smith and H. L. Thuillier, Bengal Artillery, Second Edition. London, 1855.

THIS work, which was made the subject of an article in this *Review* some time* ago, has now reached a second edition. It is not now intended to enter at all into any discussion on the modes described in this 'Manual,' as employed in the Revenue Survey, or of the importance and progress of that work. Several errors and defects were before pointed out, which it might reasonably have been expected, should have been at least partially corrected

* *Calcutta Review,* Vol. XVI, No. 31, Art. 8.

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and remedied in this second edition. It is rather surprising to find that in no case has this been done. Thus we find the tenth theorem standing at page 13, precisely as in the first edition ; and so of the other errors. On some of these farther remarks will subsequently be made.

The work professes to be "a concise manual, adapted to the peculiar requirements of this country, and condensing into a small space not only what alone can be found in a vast number of standard, and expensive works, but embodying the precise *modus operandi* of the department, from unpublished and exclusive sources." (Pref. p. IV.)

For convenience sake, in noticing this volume, we may treat it as containing matter of three distinct kinds : 1st, the Mathematical portion embraced chiefly in Part I. 2nd, the description of instruments, forming Part II. and 3rd, the practical part, describing the "precise *modus operandi* of the department" and embodied in Parts III., IV. and V. It is intended to confine the subsequent remarks chiefly to the first division.

It is not a little surprising to meet in the first page of the work, with the assertion that : "*the truths of Geometry are founded on definitions, each furnishing at once an exact notion of the thing defined, and the ground-work of all conclusions relating to it.*" This striking dictum not unnaturally recalls the similar one made long ago by Dugald Stewart :—"The principles of Mathematical Science are *not* the axioms, but the *definitions*."* Now without entering into any lengthened discussion upon this theory, in which Captains Smith and Thuillier follow Stewart, it seems necessary in order to correct what is humbly conceived by us to be erroneous, merely to state with Dr. Whewell "that while Euclid's definition of a straight line leads to no truth whatever, his axiom respecting straight lines, is the foundation of the whole of Geometry ; and that, though we draw some inferences from the definition of parallel straight lines, we strive in vain to complete the Geometrical doctrine of such lines without assuming some axiom which enables us to prove the converse of our first propositions. That Geometry depends upon axioms as well as definitions, is supposed by the form in which it is commonly presented. And we shall assume this form to be a just representation of the real foundations of the science till we have before us a satisfactory system of Geometry without axioms."† But such a system the compilers have not ventured to attempt to give us ; for, no sooner are the definitions concluded, than we are presented with the axioms also.

As to the definitions themselves, it may be remarked that those respecting the Parallelogram, Rhombus and Rectangle are not satisfactorily distinctive ; that the definition of a Trapezoid, instead of forming a note on page 52, seems entitled to a place among the

* Collected Works, edited by Sir W. Hamilton, Vol. III., p. 32.

† On Mathematical Reasoning and the Logic of Induction, §§ 17,18.

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rest; and, that definitions of a Quadrant and Semicircle, though as necessary as many of the others, are awanting. The fourth postulate runs thus: "It is also required, that the equality of lines and 'angles to others given, be granted as possible: that it is possible for 'one right line to be perpendicular to another, at a given point or 'distance: and that every magnitude has its half, third, fourth, &c., 'part" The necessity of such a demand it is not easy to perceive. Euclid with all his rigorous severity of reasoning did not feel it; moreover, we are inclined to question the propriety of calling it a *postulate.* The other postulates are, all of them, problems the possibility of which is admitted as self-evident; but this cannot be classed as a problem, though its self-evident character is not denied.

It is not deemed necessary to dwell on the next two chapters,—on Geometrical problems and theorems. They are necessarily brief; to have made them more complete would have considerably swelled the volume which already contains somewhere about 760 pages.

The fourth chapter treats of Logarithms. And on this it may be remarked, that it is not necessary, as there stated, that the ratio of the Geometrical series of numbers should be ten; any ratio will serve equally well to illustrate the nature of Logarithms.

If the rule given in the "Manual" for finding the Logarithm of any number more than 1,000, be applied literally to such a case as finding the Logarithm of 136,352, (see Manual p. 387) we shall have $5.1335389 + .0000318 \times 352 = 5.1447315$, instead of 5.1346615. Such an error in an important rule, it may be hoped, will not be suffered to stand long uncorrected. One object in a work like that now before us, ought to be the putting into the hands of practical men, an intelligible account of the shortest methods of performing such computations as they are daily engaged in; and we think the compilers of this Manual might have given the following easy rule for proportion by Logarithms.

To the arithmetical complement of the Logarithm of the first term, add the Logarithms of the second and third, and the sum will be the Logarithm of the fourth term after its index has been diminished by 10. Any person competent to be entrusted with calculations will at once set down the arithmetical complement of the first term, by substracting mentally each figure from nine, and the last from 10. And, having to perform but one addition, instead of first adding and then substracting, the operation will be performed much more speedily. Attention is called to this, because it is an operation constantly occurring in Trigonometrical calculations. Thus, taking an example from page 41 of the "Manual" we have

Sin. C.	96°	Arith. Comp.	9.0023857—10.
: Sin. A. ..	46° 30′		9.8605622
: : AB.	230		2.3617278
Adding we have BC.	167.76	log.	2.2246757.

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Without dwelling on the necessity of a clear statement, respecting the 'doubtful case' in Trigonometry, or that when two sides and an opposite angle are given,—it might have been of use to have given for the solution of 'case 4th' (p. 43.) the very convenient formulæ

$$\text{Log. tan. } \tfrac{1}{2} A = \tfrac{1}{2} \left\{ \log.(s-b) \times \log.(s-c) - \log. s - \log.(s-a) \right\}$$

and Log. tan. $\frac{1}{2}$ B = log. tan. $\frac{1}{2}$ A + log. $(s-a)$—log. $(s-b)$ (where s. represents half the perimeter of the triangle,) than which no easier solution for the case can perhaps be found; the taking of only four Logarithms from the tables being necessary for the separate calculation of all the three angles.

Perhaps we may be excused if we notice the confusion which to some may seem to prevail in the statements of the proportions for the solution of the Trigonometrical questions in chapter 5. Every one who has made a little progress in Arithmetic, knows that a proportion consists of two ratios; and that a ratio being the numerical relation which one quantity bears to another, its terms must be of the same kind. And in some of the questions to which we refer, we find sides compared with sides, and tangents with tangents; but in not a few the relations are as arbitrary as the relation of a rupee to a dinner. In the chapter on Mensuration, several such oversights as $55 \times 13 = 71.00$ may be observed. The following chapter seems rather out of place. It naturally enough might have followed that on practicalGeometry. In the article in this *Review*, (Vol. XVI., p. 327,) already referred to, special notice was taken of the last problem of this chapter; and in addition to what was there said, it may be here remarked that, "*to determine the area of a piece of ground, having the map given by weight*," it is not necessary to divide it into squares (as there directed) and then cut away those which contain no part of the map, to weigh it, and again cut out the map by its boundary line and compare its weight now, with that after the first operation. If this method is to be adopted at all (for it is a very rough one,) let the whole area of the sheet be estimated from the scale, and weighed; then let the map be cut out by the boundary line and again weighed: then as the weight of the whole sheet is to the weight of the part containing the map, so will the estimated area of the sheet be to that of the map.

These remarks are all we intend to make on the Mathematical portions of the work. There are many formulæ in the remaining portions, either deduced mathematically, or taken from the writings of others. The first method will be the most satisfactory for educated men. Uniformity might have been preserved, and some compression attained by either omitting the evolution of these formulæ entirely, or reserving them only in the form of notes. A valuable addition, for the student, would be an index by aid of which he might be at once guided to the formula or direction which he might require.

Those portions of the book which describe the instruments are

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well written, and must be very instructive and useful to every young surveyor. To render this section complete there would only need to be two additions made. 1st, the description of the Compensation, Bars used in the Trigonometrical Survey which, from the preface (p. vii.) we learn is intentionally omitted: And, 2nd, some account of the Aneroid Barometer, an instrument well adopted for the measurement of altitudes, and which appears calculated ultimately to supercede the common "mountain barometer." This ingenious instrument, the invention of a Frenchman of the name of Vidi, consists of a flat circular metallic box, usually of copper, about two and-a-half inches in diameter and a quarter of an inch in depth, corrugated in concentric circles on its upper and under surfaces. This chamber or box is exhausted of air by a small tube entering at one edge. This tube is then hermetically closed by soldering. Every variation of pressure of the atmosphere, it is evident, will act upon the sides of this chamber, their elasticity being increased by the corrugations. To the centre of the upper surface of the chamber is attached a small cylindrical projection of metal on which the end of a lever rests; this lever moves a second, which in its turn moves one extremity of a small chain, its other extremity acting upon a drum on the axle of the arbor which moves a hand or index. The levers, box and chain are all enclosed in a box about 4¾ inches in diameter. The arbor already mentioned, passes through the centre of a dial-plate, the circumference of which is graduated into divisions, corresponding to inches 10ths, 100ths, &c., on the common barometer. To compensate for change of temperature, there is a spiral spring which acts upon the main lever. This instrument we consider still susceptible of some improvement. But as the compression of the sides of the box, caused by an increase of pressure, at the point of the index on the dial plate is multiplied nearly 700 times, the indications are exceedingly delicate; so much so, that those manufactured by Lerebore, will indicate a difference of elevation of three feet with great distinctness. And as there is no danger of derangement, it may be carried in any position, and observed, if necessary, even on horse-back, and that almost instantaneously. Of such an instrument, we fully expected to find a particular account in the 'Manual.'

Those portions of the work which treat (to use the authors' expression) "of the *modus operandi*" of the survey and of the mapping of it, appear to be everything that could be desired. We can only recommend them to the careful study of every one who wishes to become acquainted with the nature of the work, and the degree of accuracy which must be necessarily instred by such a survey. It is to be hoped that, by the time a third edition is required, the compilers will be able, amid their many other engagements, to correct such errors as have been pointed out; and perhaps to condense some parts, so as without materially increasing the size of the

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volume, to insert a few pages on spherical Trigonometry, and an Alphabetical Index, without which we regard no book of reference as complete.

Specimens of Greek Anthology. Translated by Major Robert Guthrie Macgregor, Author of "Indian Leisure."

The 'Greek Anthology' has been often translated, and by none more worthily or correctly than the author of those exquisite pieces from it, which, from time to time, appeared in the earlier numbers of *Blackwood's Magazine*. Known to but a few, but those few the old school of contributors to that periodical in its palmiest days, he filled by no means an insignificant place in the scholarship and literary *coteries* of Modern Athens, thirty years ago. William Hay was born in the town of Elgin under very inauspicious circumstances, being obliged often to beg his daily bread. Mrs. Innes of the Whitehorse Inn was remembered by him till the day of his death with heartfelt gratitude, for her kindness in administering to his *creature comforts*, while a bare-footed boy at school. 'Willie' as he was always called, early evinced great talents, and the master of the burgh school in his native town soon perceived, that something might be made of this 'faitherless bairn.' He received his education gratis, and having mastered the elementary studies, was soon promoted to the highest class, where he quickly overstepped the other boys, most of whom had the advantage of being assisted at home in their studies by educated parents. Willie laboured unaided by any one, preparing his lessons from the books of his fellow scholars, who gladly lent them, in return for his hints to them about their lessons. He managed to subsist till about the age of fourteen years, when he became tutor in the family of Mr. Cumming of Logie. Like all ambitious Scotch youths, and like a great predecessor of his from the same district—Dr. Alexander Adam—he set out for the College at Edinburgh. Here few were so distinguished as he in the study of Greek, and it might almost be said of him, as DeQuincy says of himself, that Greek was as much his mother tongue as English. His high scholarship recommended him as the tutor of several men, who have since reached literary eminence,—not the least distinguished of whom was Christopher North. His open geniality, his thorough gentlemanliness, and his pure classical taste and scholarship, made his society to be sought after by many of the first scholars, but his retiring habits prevented any promiscuous intercourse with the outer literary world. Living as the quiet, but useful and busy scholar, it is but a year since he was taken away, leaving behind him his translations from the Greek Anthology, and other pieces, as an evidence of a genius, a scholarship and a poetic power, that were never fully appreciated. We give one specimen, which is as true to the original as it is free and flowing. The note appended, which we have taken from a

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M.S. copy of the translations, will shed some light on the difficulty of catching all the nameless beauties of some pieces in the Anthology :—

XLV.—UNKNOWN.

*Thou, who hadst lately birth to sweetness given
Of bee-engendered hymns, and swan-voiced lays,
Art now o'er Acheron's wide waters driven
By Fate—the spinning reed of life who sways,
Yet still, Erinna, will the Muse proclaim
Thy labours,—deathless in the choirs of fame.

This new attempt by Major Macgregor has recalled the above to us. It is so lately that we noticed his "Indian Leisure" at some length, that we need not do more than say, that, whether it be owing to increased poetic power, or to the greater poetic beauty of the original, this small attempt is decidedly more creditable than the former. We give a specimen :—

The wintry winds are all from Heav'n exil'd ;
The purple reign of flow'ry Spring has smil'd ;
The fair earth has renew'd her garb of green,
And budding plants with petals young are seen ;
The tender dews of teeming morn to quaff
Open the roses and the meadows laugh ;
His shrill pipe the pleas'd shepherd from the height
Plays, and the goatherd his white kids delight ;
Now mariners the wide sea fearless sail,
Their canvas swelling to the gentle gale ;
Now hymns to Bacchus of the vine are sung
By youths whose brows with ivy flow'rs are hung ;
Now ox-born bees their fair works labour'd well
Concern, as, settling in each curious cell,
Liquid and light their honied stores they make ;
Birds their fond notes on ev'ry side awake,
Swallows on housetops, halcyons on floods,
Swans upon rivers, nightingales in woods.
If thus new joy the leafy plant now feels,
And her best beauty the bright earth reveals,
If skip the fleecy flocks as shepherds play,
If seamen sail and Bacchus' dance be gay,
If sing the birds and toil the bees, 'tis meet
That minstrels with sweet songs the spring-time greet.

Major Macgregor seems to be a cosmopolite in the world of Literature.

* This is an attempt to give in English rhyme, all the complex conceptions of the original—but after a dozen attempts, and after having spent at least a dozen hours, I find it utterly impossible to get English tortured into rhyme for all the comprehensive and melodious Greek expressions. There are three or four words which I cannot transpose—The rhyme and prose are a thought too Greek for English.

In English prose line for line thus—
Thee,—lately having given birth to the spring of bee-engendered hymns
Lately sounding with swan mouth,
Hath driven to Acheron, thro' the broad waves of the dead,
Fate,—the mistress of the thread-spinning spindle.
But thy beautiful labour of words, Oh! Erinna, proclaims that thou art not
Corrupted (dead) but hast (art in) the choirs mingled with the Pierians.

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Lecture on the Products and Resources of British India, by Montague Gore, Esq. Delivered before the St. James's Literary and Philosophical Society. London, 1855.

INDIA is becoming fashionable—decidedly fashionable. Not to know it, its resources, products, revenue and history, argues oneself unknown. It is now the rage. *Punch* writes of it, the *Press* has almost daily articles on it, the *Spectator* meditates on its future, the *Economist* calculates its income and expounds its finance, the *Leader* attacks the barbarous cruelty and savage anarchy of its independent states, the *Edinburgh Review* actually admits an article, short, ill-written and partially plagiarised though it be, into its pages, and the *Times* has its regular Indian correspondent, who argues for Annexation, Improvement of the Land Tenure, Modified Despotism and the Unity of the Empire, with as much point and clearness as the *Friend of India*. Indian novels are not only tolerated, but read from beginning to end, though there be not a little sermonising in them, as in "Oakfield," and no allusion to those old mythical personages—a rich big-livered nabob and his wayward lovely daughter. As if to crown the whole we have "St. James's Literary and Philosophical Society" listening to a "Lecture on the Products and Resources of British India," full of statistics and dry hard facts, and that when the lecturer is of all other men, Montague Gore, Esq. Given Royle, Colonel Cotton and Sir Charles Napier to produce Montague Gore, Esq., and his Lecture. We have seldom seen in Indian Literature so clever a compilation, in which the best facts in truly genuine works are sucked out and made to play their part in the Scene before the Society. Cotton, opium, indigo, iron, coal, fibres, tea, sugar, rivers, roads and railways are all made to pass before the reader, with a rapidity that is truly refreshing to us apathetic old Indians. We rush through the lecture, bristling as it is with quotations, references and statistics, and heaving a deep sigh at the end, and drawing a long breath, we wonder at the mighty skill of the conjuror, Montague Gore, Esq. He ever says, Presto—Change, and lo! Royle, Cotton, &c., become Montague Gore. Really to the Indian, or the man who is on the spot and knows the works so often alluded to, and the actual state of the country, the whole seems contemptible, and is a good instance of the abuse of what is otherwise a most popular and useful mode of at least inciting to self-study and suggesting self-thought—Lecturing. But lest we should wrong "Montague Gore, Esq.," we give the following :—

> The improvement of internal communications cannot fail to exercise an important influence on the development of the resources of this country. Amongst these means of communication, railways deserve especial notice; and none more so than the East Indian Railway, which it is proposed to extend from Calcutta, by the valley of the Ganges, to the North-West provinces, and part of which is already completed. This line opens the Dumoodah coal-field; then proceeding to Rajmahal, will give facilities for the carriage of the produce of the districts on the left bank of the Ganges; going on to Allahabad, it will skirt the

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hilly tracts, which are said to be replete with mineral wealth; will open out the Opium districts, and meet the trade of the Nerbudda valley at Mirzapore.

"Beyond Allahabad it will run along the entire Doab, skirting the frontiers of Oude, whose great fertility and natural resources may one day contribute largely to the traffic of the line. It will traverse the country beyond Cawnpore, which, fruitful already, will shortly become more so, under the influence of the Ganges Canal, whose opening is looked for in 1854.* It may receive, whenever it is required, a branch by Furruckabad, for the conveyance of the produce of Rohilcund; and it will be equally accessible to such other branches as either the Honourable Company or native princes may desire to lead from it into the districts on the other side.

"And although the country beyond Delhi is, at the present time, less productive and less populous than the districts below, no man who has noted the effect which even four years of peace have had upon the face of the country beyond the Sutlej, or who is aware of the vast results which the providing of the means of irrigation produces upon the cultivation and the peopling of similar districts in India, will entertain a doubt of the certain success of those great irrigation works which are already commenced in the Baree Doab, and are contemplated in the Cis-Sutlej province; or of their rendering the districts beyond the Doab at no distant date, as populous and as productive as those within it."†

The returns of this line are a complete answer to those who apprehended that there would not be much passenger traffic on the Indian railways. Taking 24 weeks, from the 2nd of December to the 12th of May, we find that in the first 9 weeks of that period, when the line was opened for 37½ miles only, the aggregate number of passengers carried was 71,921, or an average of 7,991 per week. During the next fifteen weeks after the line had been opened for 121 miles, the aggregate number of passengers carried was 179,404, or an average of 11,960 per week.

Again, the Bombay and Central India Railway will be important as the means of intercourse between Agra and Bombay, running through a country rich in cotton, opium, and salt, and forming the most direct line for carrying British and Indian produce towards Thibet and China. Other lines of great importance are proposed, and I cannot better close my remarks on this occasion than by quoting the concluding paragraph of the Minute of Lord Dalhousie, in which he expresses his earnest hope "that the Honorable Court of Directors will resolve at once to engage in the introduction of a system of railways into the Indian Empire, upon a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the interests that are involved; and with the vast and various benefits, political, commercial, and social, which that great measure of public improvement would unquestionably produce."‡

The following is the important and detailed information given on Indigo and Opium:—

Indigo is a natural product of India; the history of its cultivation is singular. At the commencement of our commerce with India, the imports of it thence to England were considerable. It was however supplanted for a time by the successful exertions of the British Colonists in the West Indies and the southern parts of North America. But in 1779, the Court of Directors made great exertions to revive it. These exertions have since been continued, and crowned with the happiest success. Large sums are now embarked in its cultivation. It surpasses in quality that of all other countries, and is the chief source of supply to the rest of the world.

I now come to Opium, of which the Company long enjoyed a monopoly, as the Mogul rulers had done before.

* This canal is now opened.

† Minute of Lord Dalhousie on Railways, 1853.

‡ Correspondence on Indian Railways, ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 1853.

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When tranquillity was established in Malwa, the cultivation of the poppy which had hitherto been checked by the disorders that prevailed there, considerably increased; and a great export of opium took place. It was at first attempted to stop this by prohibitory duties; and the native princes were induced to forbid the cultivation of the poppy, and the sale and transit of opium through their states, by receiving compensation for their loss of profits and dues. This, however, occasioned serious evils, paralysing industry, and leading to affrays, and even loss of life, and was as ineffectual as it was unjust. It was at last determined that the conveyance of opium from the ports of Malwa where it is grown to Bombay, should be licensed; a regulation which still continues.

Previous however to our occupation of Scinde, much opium evaded the licence duty, being smuggled through that country to Damaun, and Din, and thence carried to China.

We wonder if "Montague Gore, Esq.," has any thing to do with the late President of the India Reform Association. "Torture" is not mentioned as one of the Products or Resources of British India.

Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam, during a Residence of Fourteen Years. By Major John Butler. London, 1855.

The author of a Sketch of Assam has published a second volume. The book is well got up, and illustrated with engravings, which exhibit the gift of genius,—not vulgar copies of nature, but works of regulated art. Besides some interesting narrative, the writer supplies much information concerning the wasted province of Assam and some of the wild tribes partially inhabiting the hills which bound it on three sides. We cordially wish it the success which it so well deserves. There are, however, some matters scarcely noticed, and others of which the author naturally speaks with the bias of a military civilian of a non-regulation district. Upon these we have some observations to offer. The evidence of (then) Mr. Halliday deserves to be remembered, particularly regarding delays and inefficiency of courts, and the need of simple and real proceedings. A small cause is doubled, turned, and worried, by a pack of slowhounds.

We protest against odious comparisons being drawn between military and civil staff duties. It is painful to hear soldiers depreciating the situation of comrades. And what are the other duties which British Officers are to prefer to their own profession? They are—sitting in cutcherry, listening to little native concerns, signing papers, being surrounded by servile candidates, while their proper avocations are affected to be a nuisance and a bore! As long as standing armies remain, they ought to be maintained as efficient as possible, and the *esprit de corps* should be preserved. It is displeasing to find young Officers desirous of forsaking their Regiment, while gaining steps in the service which they practically resign.

To remedy such abuse, the quinquennial act was proposed by Lord Ellenborough, and it has since been authoritatively sanctioned. Limitation of time in offices of power is absolutely needful for the sake of common justice, and is opposed by advocates of arbitrary will. It is also best for Officers themselves, who may get so

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bound by ties and connections as to be unable to move, though they wish it. The principle applied to the highest offices holds good for Commissionerships of divisions. Otherwise abuses thrive and good rules are infringed, such, as that forbidding those employed in courts to engage in trading speculations. The objection that inconvenience would be caused by withdrawing men just when they had learned their duties possesses that clearness which suggests a suspicion of shallowness. The duties of civil staff employ do not require long apprenticeship. Men of average ability are soon competent to discharge them respectably. Much fallacy prevails about this. Poor men, without many friends, will often rejoice if, owing to the absence of principals, their little cases may go before a junior, believing that a fresher hand will be more free from prejudices, and less under the influence of the Omlah and Sherishtadar. It may be presumed that the act is only meant to be occasionally applied in its strictness, and it is urged that this option opens a door for partiality. But no plan is free from objections. The details may be amendable, but the principle seems just as we have heard the case stated by Regimental Officers. To prevent misconstruction it may be remarked that changes are assumed to be prospective, not disappointing any present expectations—nor are other remedies wanting, which may perhaps be preferred, such as calling on Staff Officers after so many years to take their choice.*

Perhaps it did not fall within the design of the writer to dwell upon the most important subject for all countries,—its social state at least we find few remedies suggested for existing evils. When the late deputation visited Assam, he openly expressed surprise at the evidences of public vices, conceiving that amid so small a population, and in so manageable a district, they might be prevented and repressed. He was chiefly alluding to the Sudder Stations which act upon their surrounding vicinities on this occasion. Mr. Mills proposed several reforms for future adoption, and among them he recommended a reduction of superfluous or unreasonable establishments. This plain measure, as opportunities may allow of its execution, will diminish a fruitful source of jobbery and intrigue: even in the short period of circuit, a large train following public functionaries may commit many kinds of local mischief. It may be readily conceded that many scandals have diminished, and deduction may be made for exaggerated statements, but a residuum of harm will yet remain which it were unfaithful not to remedy. It is quite justifiable for the present to keep up some customs which will naturally drop. Nor perhaps can we dispense with old habits without some regret, though we acknowledge the propriety of their breach. Fancy may recall the coach and six with highwaymen on the heath, but few would desire to perpetuate the scene. Moreover to those who are gifted with a romantic turn, the Egyptian railroad will be as poetical as the Pyramids.

Another good riddance will be the abolition of the privileges

* This was penned before the publication of *Gazette*, Oct. 6th, 1855.

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granted to some temples, which have failed to fulfil their conditions, and are become hot-beds of corruption, and have forfeited the approbation of respectable Assamese families.

Many years ago a tone which 'Punch' has so earnestly exposed, prevailed in several stations of Assam. Among the causes promoting a better spirit must be reckoned the introduction of Steamers, first to Lower, then to Upper Assam. Add the tea cultivation, American Missions, facile transit of books, speedy communication with home. Thus do benefits accrue from good measures, besides what are mainly designed. We may have half lamented the 'unrivalled' valley being profaned by smoky funnels, but soon learn to welcome all the aids of civilization.

The system adopted in Assam derives immediate interest from the discussions regarding army discipline, and the privilege granted to Company's Officers of retaining their rank equally in all countries. It is affectation to profess philosophic indifference to mere honour, and it is unworthy to pay regard to salary alone. More especially in the case of soldiers, and soldiers' wives. It is observable that those who pretend to disregard simple honour will commonly be found to be referring to their neighbours. Nay, is it not part of a Christian life to be seeking honour, glory and immortality. Gospel precepts ought to be properly compared, rightly interpreted, and judiciously applied, otherwise they may serve the purposes of the selfish, and be used as a means of preserving unfair advantages. The Bible contains a code of Ethics, requiring systematic study to interpret. Sermons will be more interesting and profitable in proportion as the clergy can enjoy liberty of prophesying. When prejudice forbids this, the language of the pulpit and the table will not be consistent. Pure religion can never inculcate any habits or disposition unfavourable to manly action and due self-respect. And although the Reverend author of Tristram Shandy may have been but half in earnest when he termed *meekness* a 'snivelling virtue,' still it ought to be remembered that real meekness is united with high courage and energetic spirit, and, above all, that those who laud such Christian graces are bound to be *sans reproche* in other virtues, likewise, to be just, chaste, and liberal.

It is scarce to be expected that Indian Officers will receive boons without Queen's Officers advancing claims. In process of time the complete amalgamation of the two armies will probably take place, so far as regards the Officers. Whatever faults may be in the Queen's service, we have heard old Company's Officers maintain, that no man who was deficient, could keep his place in it many months.

It is interesting to compare the present condition of the Christian and European community in Assam with that of a preceding phase. On the one hand we cannot but regret the more liberal hospitality, the more humane and natural customs, the less affected manners of former days. On the other hand it cannot be denied that during the last ten or twelve years a marked improvement has taken place in moral habits, and that, whereas there had been Officers in authority

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several posts, whose living was an offence to the more respectable natives, so there have more recently sprung up families who resemble cities placed upon a hill, whose light cannot be hid. Let sincere men beware of indiscriminately echoing a cry against early marriages. Marriages may be made excessively early, and consequently be attended with evils, but let it not be forgotten that very serious social evils result from a custom of deferring the recognised union of the young of both sexes, beyond the season which nature instinctively recommends. Even rules of caste, until people can learn a better way, are not without avail towards preserving young men from vicious courses. But some Britons would even interfere with the customs of bathing and washing of vessels, not remembering that,

> "Even from the body's purity, the mind
> Receives a secret sympathetic aid."

Much of Major Butler's book is occupied with accounts of our dealings with the Naga tribes inhabiting the southern range of mountains. This graphic portion will only be appreciated by those acquainted with local parties and circumstances. With our civilization the notion of exterminating such tribes as the Nagas is unlawful and wicked. They seem not ill-humoured, nor indocile, and fond of music. We have seen a party of them sitting hushed in pleasure at the sounds of a lady's piano forte. Extermination, like slavery, seems especially odious when advocated by Missionaries, in whom we naturally expect to discern feelings of reverence, piety, and benevolence. It is not improbable, according to some authorities, that ere many years elapse, it may be deemed expedient to make Bishnath a station for regular troops, perhaps of a European regiment.

In the administration of a province like Assam, it is desirable to allow as much local action as possible. The system of 'commissions' is inconsistent in several particulars. But at least in all questions affecting personal rights and property, it seems a divine law universally implanted within the human breast, that every one should take an interest and possess a share of influence in their adjustment, as in municipal affairs. Part of the dislike to the introduction of the New Act may be attributed to peevish expressions sometimes used in its defence—whatever is unconstitutional foments violence on one side, and hostility on the other. Thus social welfare is marred. A sense of such rights tends to promote feelings of self-respect, to exercise the faculties, and to unite society in friendly relations—while nothing is more calculated to arouse feelings of disaffection than the performance of orders delivered at a distance, by persons who are necessarily unable to pay respect to the wishes, and prejudices of the local population—such instructions, sent with the best intentions, and possibly well suited to one district, may be ill-adapted to different situations and circumstances, as Providence gives coffee to Arabia, and tea to Assam. It will be difficult to devise a plan better fitted to secure the happiness and prosperity

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of a neighbourhood than was developed in the ancient and wise institution of the village punchayet.

Towards the close of his volume the author notices the Missions in Assam. Since leaving Christendom our interest in this question has augmented, while our opinions have in some respects changed. Experience teaches us generally to respect Hindus, who observe their own customs, before those who are not earnest inquirers, but lax and profane. Zealous advocates of a good cause are in danger sometimes of proving too much. Such has been occasionally the case respecting Missions. The mind recoils from the conclusions too sweepingly drawn, and repeats the question, 'Is God the God of the Jews only and not of the Gentiles also?' and is comforted by the reflection that 'in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.' Accordingly we would advocate the adoption of the more primitive plan, such as that employed in England by St. Wilfrid, which should aim less at catching here and there a single convert, rather than addressing and influencing communities together, as we read, in the Acts, of households, and families, and bodies of people being baptized, so we would endeavour to work upon villages, and societies of people. For it is a hazardous experiment, to our minds, to separate a solitary individual from all his natural relations and sympathies, and few youths, without a miracle, can have strength to bear the shock. With Hindus it is especially requisite to avoid ridicule and scoffing while alluding to religious subjects. It is their principle to pay a certain respect to the religions of all people, and no attempt more repels their feelings, or more surely defeats its own object, than the too common way of beginning by exposing the absurdities of their system. In their eyes this method seems the result of impiety and irreverence, nor have they learned to appreciate the thrifty arguments which would persuade them not to 'throw away money,' on the obsequies of deceased parents, particularly when they can point to some among the Christian party, who are either making haste to be rich by questionable transactions, or treasuring the vile yellow slave, or spending it in worse than vain habits. Among mankind any amount of self-denial must be esteemed a degree of virtue, however misdirected, unless indeed by the school of Sardanapalus, whose epitaph in praise of sensuality, might have been inscribed, according to Aristotle, upon the tomb of an ox. Alas, it calls for earnest and united effort to remedy the evils which, together with the blessings, have entered, within no long period, the quiet vale of Assam. Can any man hear without pain and shame, of the inhabitants wondering at the appearance of foul diseases, and patiently submitting to what they deem a visitation of God? These results have been chiefly caused by the influx of adventurers from Bengal, who hang about the Sudder stations seeking whom they may devour. Yet though such effects may be too natural, we cannot allow them to be of necessary continuance. While political affairs in Assam have been ably conducted, (as regards foreign tribes) and fiscal and judicial business been constantly attended to, we fear there has scarcely hitherto been bestowed proportionate

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regard on the question, which after all is of the greatest importance to all countries, its social welfare. We cannot see the right of drawing such distinctions between divine laws. Surely society is justified in visiting with penalties the spreaders of immorality, with its train of consequences, as much as in breaking up and getting rid of a nest of thieves. We saw some letters lately in the *Englishman* on 'Dens of Infamy' about Calcutta, much to the point. It is a monstrous fallacy to pretend that any kind of vice is necessary, or expedient. Vices inflame vices. Meantime let the recent liberal schemes of education become an ally in the cause of social progress. This they can hardly fail to do, unless modern education be inferior to ancient. The prayer of old Juvenal might be engraven upon colleges and schools, as well as temples:

'Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.'

'What,' says some wise objector, 'Do Harrow and Eton produce no corrupt alumni, do Oxford and Cambridge send forth no debauched students?'

Not pausing to reply, we proceed to explain how we wish education should be worthy the name. We would have the native youth disciplined in bodily exercise, which of itself profiteth little, but combined with moral and spiritual training availeth much. We would have them taught how their bodies are fearfully and wonderfully made, and how nature herself teaches men that they should 'possess their vessels in sanctification and honor.' We would practise them in the exercise of out-door games and sports, as well as cultivate a taste of literature and art to serve them while alone within. We would have them acquainted with the laws of plain music, and accustomed to chaunt cheerful songs. We would impress their memories with stories of just, chaste, brave, and gentle characters, and enlarge their understanding by a knowledge of the history, laws and institutions of their country. We would attract their minds to objects of present and future local interest, and impart an aptitude for the lessons furnished by the earth beneath, and the heavens above, and the waters under the earth. Such has education been, in some schools, such must it become again, if it degenerate not into a sham.

Zend: is it an Original Language? By John Romer, late E.I.C.C.S. and M.R.A.S. London, 1855.

This work has reached us too late to give it that attention and elaborate notice which its merits demand. The greater part of it originally appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and then excited some attention in the philological world. Its great object is to decide a question long agitated, as to the originality of the Zend language. To prove this too often have the principles of comparative philology been abused. The conclusion of the author is borne out by the strict laws

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of the science and of common-sense, and by many learned quotations, that the Zend is artificial, and the Pahlavi spurious in its origin. The greatest of authorities—Professor Wilson—thus speaks of the subject :—

For our first accurate knowledge of the religious books of the Parsis of Gujarat, we are indebted, as is well known, to Anquetil du Perron. Both in his translation of the Zend avasta, and in some separate dissertations, published in the Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, Monsieur du Perron has maintained the authenticity and high antiquity of the Zend and Pahlavi languages in which those works are composed. The former he asserts to have been the spoken language of the countries between the Caspian and Black Sea, and of the upper parts of Mesopotamia; or, in a word, of Northern Media, several centuries before the era of Christianity. Pahlavi, according to him, was also spoken in the countries between Derbend, Mazanderan and Farsistan, at least as far back as the date of Zoroaster, the reputed author of the Zend avesta.

These assertions of Du Perron were strenuously opposed by Richardson, in the Preface to his Persian Dictionary, who treats the claims of the Zend especially with great contempt, asserting it to be an invention of the Parsi priest; a barbarous jargon; a lingua-Franca, culled from the dialects of every surrounding country.

Sir William Jones, in his Discourse on the Persians, addressed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, expresses his opinion that no genuine books in Zend or Pahlavi exist, and that the dialect of the Gabrs is a late invention of their priests, subsequent at least, to the Mohammedan conquest of Persia; the Pahlavi abounding with verbal nouns and infinitives, evidently formed on the rules of Arabic Grammar, and the Zend, consisting of six or seven Sanskrit words in every ten.

Colonel Vans Kennedy, in his work on the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe, after full examination of what had been urged in favour of the genuineness of the language of the Parsi writings, concurs entirely with Sir William Jones, and asserts that his conclusion of their late inventions, is incontrovertible. The Zend, he says, is a pretended language, invented by the Parsi priests, and never actually spoken by any people upon the face of the earth. The same remarks, he adds, apply with still greater force to Pahlavi.

Mr. Erskine, in a letter to Sir John Malcolm, on the sacred books and religion of the Parsis, in the second volume of the Bombay Transactions, so far differs from the preceding, that he appears not to regard the Zend as a fabrication, though he sees no reason to believe that it was ever a spoken language within the limits of the Persian empire. He concludes it to have been a dialect of Sanskrit current in some part of India, and employed by the Parsi priests exclusively, in the composition of their sacred books. The Pahlavi, he concurs with Sir William Jones, in considering as a dialect of Persian, spoken on the confines of Syria and Mesopotamia, and much intermixed with Syriac and Arabic. The date of the compilation of the Vendidad, he refers to the era of Vologeses Balagash, or about A. D. 229, when the imperfect remains of the lost volumes of Zoroaster were written down from the recitation of aged Mobeds and Destours. Even Mr. Erskine, therefore, entertains an opinion, not very favourable to the authenticity of the only monuments in which the Zend and Pahlavi are said to be preserved.

The English authorities are, therefore, unanimously opposed to the antiquity of the sacred writings of the Parsis, and to the genuineness of the languages in which they are composed. On the other hand, the Continental writers are equally unanimous in advocating their authenticity. Adelung, in his Mithridates, advances in opposition to Richardson, that the invention of the languages is contrary to all probability, and that the Zend must be considered as a real language, which was once actually spoken. The Baron de Sacy has attempted to explain various ancient inscriptions found in Persia, upon the principle of their being in the Pahlavi language; and Grotefend and St. Martin have attempted to read some of the arrow-head inscriptions, on the

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supposition that they are written in Zend. The late Professor Raske, in reply especially to Mr. Erskine, has published a defence of the authenticity of the Zend and Pahlavi languages, the principal arguments of which are comprehended in a letter to Mr. Elphinstone, which is published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. Professor Ranke maintains, that the Zend was a living language, the spoken language of Media, and that the Vendidad, as it exists, was composed before the time of Alexander the Great: farther he does not pretend to go, nor does he undertake to decide the date of Zoroaster, to whom he ascribes the authorship of the work. Mr. Raske's views seem to have been implicitly adopted on the Continent. M. Burnouf, at Paris, has lithographed the text of the Vendidad, and has published two volumes of an elaborate translation of, and commentary upon, the *Yashna*; and Professor Bopp has taken the Zend for the basis of an extensive comparative grammar of it, with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic tongues. It is evident, therefore, that these last two writers consider the question as decided, or they would not devote their time and talents to such laborious illustrations of the Zend and Pahlavi languages.

Notwithstanding, however, the asserted opinion of Continental scholars or the inference that is to be drawn from the labours in which they have been engaged, it is impossible, in the face of the assertions and reasonings of our own equally eminent Orientalists, to feel quite convinced that the former are in the right; and it is obvious, that the subject requires farther and more deliberate investigation. One of the chief means for the accomplishment of this object is access to the original texts, so as to comprehend, generally, the structure of the language, without being obliged to acquire a knowledge of it, which, in the present state of the study, must be, as M. Burnouf admits, necessarily imperfect. Some notion of its principles may, however, be possibly collected from the careful inspection of passages from the Parsi works, and from their collation with modern Persian; and it is this facility which Mr. Romer proposes to furnish, in the communication to which the attention of the Society is now invited.

Mr. Romer thus concludes:—

In conclusion. Referring to the authority of Burnouf, it is objected to the hypothesis of Zend being an artificial language, constructed out of Sanskrit, that there are many forms in Zend where Zend is more primitive than Sanskrit, and these very forms, here and there, are found irregularities and archaisms in the Vedas. Accepting these as facts, it would then appear, either that the Zend is an older language than Sanskrit or that both proceed from one common source. Sanskrit, a highly refined, rich, and powerful language, has been ancillary to a literature profound, extensive, and varied, dating further back than three thousand years. Zend, being dead or dormant the while, has only re-appeared in the books of the Parsis, where, for literature, we have the writings of the very lowest worth, when not absolute nonsense. Therefore, the admission of this relationship between the two languages would be proving too much; and hence we are at liberty to take the more probable side of the question, and not to be called upon to believe that the insufferable drivel of the *Vendidad* was written in the times of the *Rig-Veda*. The etymological feat of deriving *Bohni* from *Sanzni*, the tremendous mistake and its life-destroying consequences, of writing *Agneis* for *Agnish*, and Spiegel's copious list of various readings, should warn us against too readily accepting, as archaisms or primitive forms, readings which may be nothing better than the clerical errors of ignorant copyists.

We shall in a future number take up the whole question of Comparative Grammar with special reference to India and its languages. We trust then to become better acquainted with Mr. Romer.

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